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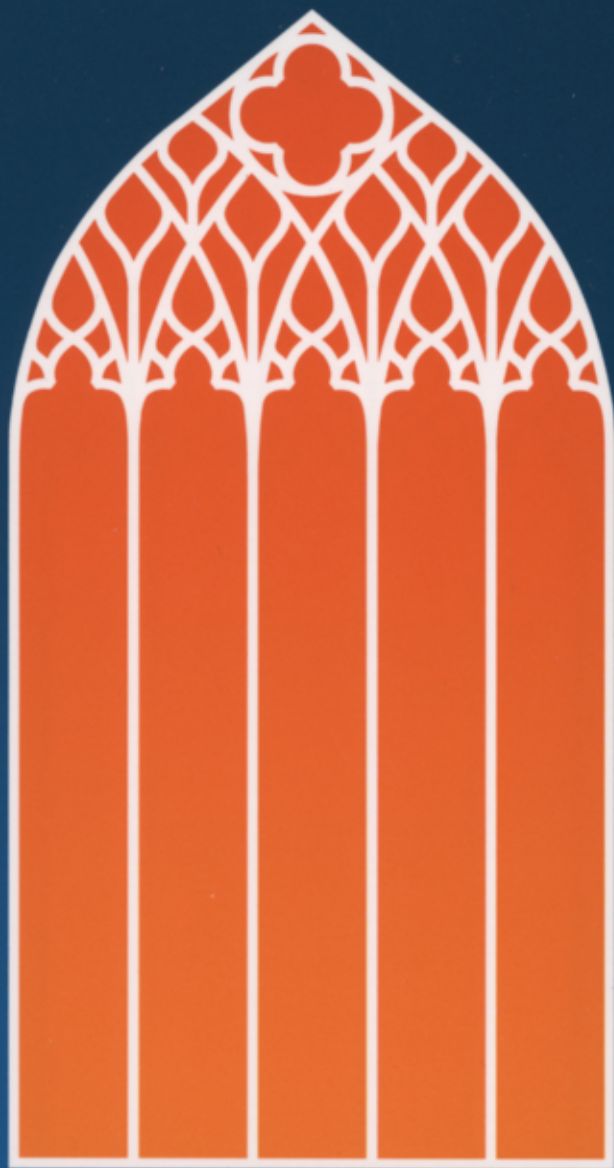
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COVER: Abstraction of the window tracery, Salt Lake City Tenth Ward. Design by Warren Archer.

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THE REED SMOOT HEARINGS: A QUEST FOR LEGITIMACY

Harvard S. Heath

It is not the critic who counts, not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles, or where the doer of deeds could have done better.

The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs; and comes short again and again, because there is no effort without error and shortcoming; but who does actually strive to do the deeds; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, who spends himself in a worthy cause; who at best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who at worse, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat. —Theodore Roosevelt¹

ON JANUARY 20, 1903, REED SMOOT, a forty-one-year-old Provo busi-

HARVARD S. HEATH is former curator of the Utah and American West Archives, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. His fascination with Reed Smoot goes back to his dissertation, “Reed Smoot: The First Modern Mormon,” 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1990), an annotation and abridgement of the Smoot diaries. This project became his edition of *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1997). He contributed to the reprint edition of *The House of the Lord*, by James E. Talmage (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998). He is currently preparing for publication both a one-volume abridgement and a complete edition of the diaries of LDS Church

nessman and ardent Republican—and, not incidentally, a Mormon apostle—was elected by the Utah State Legislature as one of Utah's two senators and left for Washington, D.C. He was sailing into a firestorm of angry protests against him personally (Was he secretly a polygamist? Could an apostle take the oath of office and place his public responsibilities to represent his constituents above his religious duty to obey his quorum president and the First Presidency?) and against the LDS Church, which was accused of tampering with politics, covertly promoting the continuation of plural marriage, and dominating Utah economically, making the state a closet theocracy. The issue would not be resolved until the full Senate, voting in February 1907, and with U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt's strong support, overrode the recommendation of the U.S. Senate's Committee on Privileges and Election to withdraw its recognition and unseat him.

This lengthy ordeal and its ramifications for state and national politics and the Mormon Church's stormy integration into national life continue to fascinate and provoke discussion. In the centennial of the hearings (1903–07), it seems appropriate to look back at this watershed event in Mormon history and review its impact and relevance. Much has been written and surely more analysis and interpretation of this event will follow as historians consider different approaches and angles from which to view and explain its significance. The Smoot hearings are fraught with numerous nuances and meanings that will continue to engage future historians. This article briefly appraises work on the topics that has appeared in the years since I first conducted my study more than a decade ago, surveys the context that followed the Woodruff Manifesto in 1890 and statehood in 1896, summarizes the history of similar “worthiness” hearings by the Senate, which was more than usually contentious at this period, and provides some context for understanding the public outcry and petitions that followed Smoot to Washington. I then summarize, year by year, the fascinating, dramatic, frequently outrageous, and highly politicized process of the hearings, the shifting strategies of attack and defense, and the constant behind-the-scenes maneuvering. In reconstructing these tension-fraught years, I give special priority to the invaluable and voluminous correspondence between Church President Joseph

President David O. McKay.

¹Theodore Roosevelt, “Citizen in a Republic,” Speech at the Sorbonne, Paris, April 23, 1910.

F. Smith and Reed Smoot.

A CONTEXT FOR UNDERSTANDING

Alternative Approaches

Two important studies have emerged recently on the hearings. Both books, published by University of North Carolina Press, have added substantially to our understanding of why the hearings were convened and the significance of their outcome. Although the hearings in general and Reed Smoot in particular have been tangentially analyzed and discussed in articles and books for years, Kathleen Flake's and Sarah Barringer Gordon's accounts remain the most comprehensive, persuasive and well argued of the various studies.²

Flake's book contributes to our understanding on the hearings with a historical context heretofore unexamined. She sees the Church not only adapting to but sincerely seeking to understand the political realities existing in mainstream America—an America it now needed to enter for a number of political, social, economic and cultural reasons. She ingeniously argues that in many ways the Church was viewed as a trust, with Smoot as its representative. Roosevelt's assistance to Smoot in the hearings reflect his views of "good trusts" and "bad trusts" and his view that the Mormons were merely a benign one and ought to be accepted as such. Flake also spends time discussing the innovative ways in which the Church reconciled itself to this new world through the interplay of history and memory. This one-paragraph summary obviously cannot begin to explain the many-faceted theses and insights she so eruditely argues; therefore, her work will need to be reckoned with by anyone seeking to understand this tumultuous period in Mormon history.

Gordon's book is an equal *tour de force* on the ramifications of the hearings. She brings to the task the enviable skills of training both as a historian and attorney, which she employs in her focus on the meaning of the hearings. Her chief contribution, it seems to me, is placing the hearings in a national legal context that provides fertile

²Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); and Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

ground for new ways to understand what they are really about. The book's strengths are the chronological discussions of how laws affecting Mormon marital relations came into legal play, the reactions of the Mormon hierarchy, and the vociferous defense that Mormon women mounted to rationalize the "Principle." Her book is buttressed by her research into numerous legal proceedings that have not heretofore been mined by Mormon historians. These analyses and interpretations substantially aid in defining the nature of the legal debate in the first place. Of course, her book contains much, much more than these few observations and must be read in depth by those wishing to understand the legal context and meaning of the hearings, and particularly their implications for the social "contract" that resulted, not just for Mormons, but for the entire nation.

I do not take serious issue with the major arguments of either author, but my area of emphasis differs in its approach and treatment. Both their studies focus on broader legal, cultural, and political implications, while mine chronologically reconstructs the episodes that contributed to this lengthy ordeal and especially what the hearings suggested for the Church in general and Smoot in particular. From a narrative base that enables the reader to follow the complicated convolutions of the hearings during four long years, I focus my interpretation on the effect on the Church and its hierarchy. However, I subscribe to the Flake and Gordon theses that the outcome had profound national implications for church-state relations and a myriad of other political and cultural issues, that my article does not treat.

Quest for Legitimacy

In 1975 Marvin S. Hill, noted LDS historian, argued that the early era of Mormonism may be best understood as a "Quest for Refuge." He maintained that, given the social upheaval of Jacksonian America, LDS Church leaders in general and Church founder Joseph Smith in particular sought to come to grips with their social and political predicaments by attempting to establish a haven in a hellish world.³ If a "quest for refuge" correctly interprets the early Mormon experience in the nineteenth century, then the Reed Smoot hearings,

³See Marvin S. Hill, "Quest for Refuge: An Hypothesis as to the Social Order and Nature of the Mormon Political Kingdom," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 3–20. Hill greatly expanded this thesis in his *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature

1903–07, represent a “quest for legitimacy.” By the turn of the twentieth century, the aims and objectives of LDS leaders had changed. Wisdom and painful experience had revealed that participation in, not isolation from, American culture and society was necessary for the Church to be effective in accomplishing its primary religious objectives.

In many ways, the Smoot hearings⁴ represented the Church’s attempt to be accepted socially and legitimized politically as a full member of the American community. It should be stressed that the hearings were not in any way orchestrated by the Church to facilitate this process, but Church officials unexpectedly became the most powerful agents in affecting this change. Initially, it was doubtful that the

Books, 1989).

⁴Milton R. Merrill’s biography contains the only discussion of the Smoot hearings from beginning to end; Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 11–104. Ariel F. Cardon, a Smoot son-in-law, wrote a brief account of the hearings, “A Trial of the Mormon Church,” photocopy of typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. For the best analysis of the impact and implications of the hearings on the LDS Church, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 16–36. For other discussions, see B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 6:393–99; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), chaps. 13–14; Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986) 167–80; Samuel W. Taylor, *Rocky Mountain Empire: The Latter-day Saints Today* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1978), 52–55, 74–77, 81–97, 158–59, 170–72; D. Michael Quinn, “LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (Spring 1985): 9–105; Gary James Bergera, “Secretary to the Senator: Carl A. Badger and the Smoot Hearings,” *Sunstone* 8 (January–April 1983): 36–41; M. Paul Holsinger, “For God and the American Home: The Attempt to Unseat Senator Reed Smoot, 1903–1907,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 60 (July 1969): 154–60; M. Paul Holsinger, “J. C. Burrows and the Fight against Mormonism, 1903–1907,” *Michigan History* 52 (Fall 1968): 181–95; M. Paul Holsinger, “Philander C. Knox and the Crusade against Mormonism, 1904–1907,” *Western Pennsylvania History Magazine* 51 (January 1969): 47–56.

hearings would be beneficial to the Church. It was only during the latter stages that Reed Smoot and Church leaders realized the hearings had been a blessing in disguise. This desire to enter into mainstream American society was a substantially different stance from the one taken during the formative period of the Church and throughout most of the Utah territorial period. Attempts to forage in the political, social, and economic desert of Utah for forty years taught a new Church hierarchy that the older, apocalyptic, communitarian society of the territorial period was neither feasible nor desirable. The faith exerted, the policies implemented, and the principles honored had not brought God down from Sinai to rescue his chosen people. Instead, the Latter-day Saints had experienced six blunt rejections of their petitions for statehood. The Civil War had not, as some Church leaders predicted, precipitated the downfall of the American political system, and its wake had brought renewed persecution of God's Saints as well as increased legal prosecution that eventually led to escheatment and disenfranchisement.⁵ To some, it must have appeared that God had had ample opportunity to preserve his people in their peculiar policies and practices. The unwelcome U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding the criminalization of Mormon polygamy in the George Reynolds's case as well as subsequent setbacks augured an increasing era of doom for the Church if it continued to stubbornly pursue its course.⁶

However, beginning with the 1890 Wilford Woodruff Mani-

⁵See Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, esp. chaps. 1–2; E. B. Long, *The Saints and the Union: Utah Territory during the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986). Lyman's history is the definitive political study of the Utah territorial period. For an earlier treatment, see Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library Press, 1971). For a different perspective, see Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988).

⁶For legal problems in the nineteenth century, see Ken Driggs, "The Prosecutions Begin: Defining Cohabitation in 1885," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Spring 1988): 109–25; Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (1988; rpt. Urbana: University of

festos, change was underway. Upon the heels of Woodruff's withdrawal of official support for new plural marriages came attempts to dissolve the long-held Liberal and Peoples political parties. Amnesty from U.S. President Grover Cleveland was granted to polygamy-practicing Church members. Statehood followed a few years later in 1896. Such changes in such a short period of time theoretically rectified—or at least mollified—longstanding complaints lodged by concerned political leaders and social activists. The transmutation of theory into practice was the crucial factor. How would the Church-dominated State of Utah react to a new political and social landscape? The initial results disappointed many. Church involvement in politics and rumors of continued polygamous cohabitation and plural marriages convinced many that, despite the Mormon concessions, it was political and social business as usual. Perception and image were, to Church members and the public at large, extremely important.⁷ Enemies of the Church saw duplicity in LDS attempts to change. Others, more tolerant, waited for the changes to take place as evidence of the Church's good faith.

LDS leaders were seemingly intent on making their pledges good. Meetings in Washington, D.C., were productive; some progress was made in overcoming the long decades of ill-will toward Utah and the Mormons, but the legitimacy which the Church leaders earnestly sought evaded them. Church leaders, and those favorably disposed to the Mormons, realized it would take time; and they hoped to make every effort to establish faith and trust in Washington. The Church's concessions and compromises seemed, to its leaders, to be evidence that change was indeed underway. However, this hope was dealt a severe blow in the late 1890s when B. H. Roberts, a polygamous member of the First Council of the Seventy and an influential General Authority, was excluded from the U.S. House of Representatives.

Although it may be argued that the Roberts case was an attempt to test the political waters after statehood, significant differences be-

Illinois Press, 2001); Thomas G. Alexander, "The Utah Federal Courts and the Areas of Conflict, 1850–1896" (M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 1961); Orma Linford, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases: Part I," *Utah Law Review* 9 (1964): 308–70; and Orma Linford, "The Mormons and the Law: The Polygamy Cases: Part II," *Utah Law Review* 9 (1965): 543–91.

⁷Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 18.

tween the Roberts and Smoot cases made Smoot's hearings more crucial to Mormonism's legitimization within the American political community. The primary difference was that Roberts was a polygamist and Smoot was not. Roberts's defense of his right to be seated was constantly overshadowed by the fact that he was, in the eyes of many in Congress, a criminal. Smoot, despite all the other allegations he had to fend off, could stay at least somewhat creditable because he was not and had never been a polygamist. A second difference was that Roberts did not receive the unwavering Church support Smoot did. Another factor might be that Roberts was a Democrat and all members of the First Presidency at the time were Republicans. The defeat of Roberts was more of a personal defeat and loss for the Democratic Party than a decisive political setback for the Church. In short, the Roberts case, more than anything else, merely exacerbated the situation for the Smoot hearings which followed within five years.⁸

It is unknown if Smoot (born in 1862 and ordained an apostle in 1900) or LDS officials anticipated the furor that would erupt with his attempt to take his seat in Congress. Some resistance was no doubt expected. Perhaps Church leaders thought that Mormons Joseph L. Rawlins (elected as a Democratic Congressman in 1896) and Frank J. Cannon (elected as a Republican Senator in 1896),⁹ presaged smooth sailing for Smoot's election as Utah Senator in 1902. He was not a po-

⁸For a good discussion of the Roberts case, see Davis Bitton, "The B. H. Roberts Case of 1898," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (January 1957): 27–46. See also Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 241–72. Even earlier, George Q. Cannon had experienced similar rejection when he was elected a territorial delegate. See Mark W. Cannon, "The Mormon Issue in Congress, 1872–1882: Drawing on the Experiences of Territorial Candidate George Q. Cannon" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960); Davis Bitton, *George Q. Cannon: A Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999). Additional insight on the Roberts case from a different perspective is David Brudnoy, "Of Sinners and Saints: Theodore Schroeder, Brigham Roberts, and Reed Smoot," *Journal of Church and State* 14 (Spring 1972): 261–78.

⁹Cannon, son of prominent LDS leader George Q. Cannon, became a virulent critic of the Church upon the death of Church President Lorenzo Snow. Frank J. Cannon and Harvey J. Higgins, *Under the Prophet in Utah: The National Menace of a Political Priestcraft* (Boston: C. M. Clark Co., 1911). Cannon's term in the Senate was abbreviated by a legislative stalemate that left

lygamist and was largely removed from the rancor of an earlier era of Church persecution and prosecution. Smoot and fellow Church leaders expected opposition from disgruntled Republicans, Democrats, and nonmembers who sustained anti-Mormon biases, but they were unaware of the groundswell of popular indignation over the election of a high Mormon official.

The initial salvo was unleashed by the Salt Lake Ministerial Association led by E. B. Critchlow, a Salt Lake attorney, and an assortment of other concerned anti-Mormons. Among these were W. M. Paden, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Salt Lake; Parley L. Williams, attorney for the Oregon Short Line Railroad; Ezra Thompson, former mayor of Salt Lake City; W. Mont Ferry, a mining investor; Clarence E. Allen, former Congressman and now Salt Lake City businessman; Abiel Leonard, bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Utah; George M. Scott, also a former mayor of Salt Lake City and a businessman; E. W. Wilson, an employee of the Commercial National Bank; Charles C. Goodwin, editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune* who had fulminated against Mormonism for two decades; W. A. Nelden, Salt Lake City businessman; Clarence T. Brown, pastor of the Congregational Church; J. J. Corum, a Salt Lake City businessman; George R. Hancock, a mining superintendent; Harry C. Hill, a businessman; H. McMillan, a businessman and investor; and J. L. Leilich, superintendent of the Missions for the Methodist Church. Although Critchlow authored the petition opposing Smoot's taking office and Paden researched it, it was Leilich who fanned the flames early on by falsely accusing Smoot of being a polygamist.

Smoot first heard of the Ministerial Association's petition while visiting an LDS stake conference in Fillmore, Utah, on November 25, 1902. Smoot was there with Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and Presiding Church Patriarch John Smith. Incensed, Smoot shot back a telegram stating that his first duty was to his country and he was capable of serving in this office as much as any member of their association. Smith and Lund, both supporters of Smoot, persuaded him to tone down the telegram.¹⁰ After reflecting upon the protest, Smoot wrote to friend and colleague John G. McQuarrie, serving a mission for the Church in the Eastern states, that he was less concerned about

the seat empty (1899–1901). He died in 1933 in Denver, Colorado.

¹⁰Anthon H. Lund, Diary, November 25, 1902, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,

the attack now than he was at first.¹¹

Even before his election in January 1903, Smoot and his supporters began planning strategies to counter the expected backlash of his election. Late in 1902 seventy-one prominent, non-Mormon citizens of Smoot's hometown, Provo, Utah, prepared a petition stating that Smoot "has always been a staunch Republican and has been among the fore-ranks in bringing that party to predominate in this state. He represents 'young Utah' with all his commendable progress and was one of the earliest advocates of the division of the citizens of this state on national party lines."¹²

Other attempts were instigated to encourage support from strong Gentile sectors to emphasize that he was popular with both Mormons and non-Mormons.¹³ To avoid problems in the legislative vote in January 1903, Smoot had his supporters argue for the election of "good" Mormons as opposed to "lukewarm" or "bad" Mormons which could be used effectively by the opposition to hurt his chances. LDS Apostle John Henry Smith, "Mr. Republican" in Utah and Joseph F. Smith's cousin and future (1910) second counselor, urged the immediate mobilization of support for Smoot: "If we want him elected, it should be understood by us all so that we will not be a mist ourselves. We have usually left these things so late that others have had their traps all set and we have been unprepared."¹⁴

By 1903 many believed Smoot would be elected by the Utah

Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). For an abridged and annotated edition of Lund's apostolic/First Presidency diaries, see John P. Hatch, *Danish Apostle: The Diaries of Anthon H. Lund, 1890-1921* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith-Pettit Foundation, 2006).

¹¹Smoot, Letter to John G. McQuarrie, December 16, 1902, Reed Smoot Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Smoot Papers). Unless otherwise noted, all correspondence to or from Smoot is located in this collection. To identify box and folder, consult the Smoot Papers Register.

¹²Petition, 1902, Smoot Papers.

¹³Smoot, Letter to Joseph T. Atkin, July 2, 1902, and Letter to Horton H. Harder, July 15, 1902.

¹⁴John Henry Smith, Letter to Lyman Smith, September 3, 1902, John Henry Smith Papers, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library,

Legislature, given the results of the November election, but there were eleventh-hour attempts to deflect votes from him in the upcoming legislative session. On New Year's Day, Thomas Kearns, a Catholic mining magnate with continuing political aspirations, implored John Henry Smith to help him defeat Smoot. Although Smith was a friend of late U.S. President William McKinley, of President Theodore Roosevelt, and of Republican power broker Mark Hanna, and wanted to support their position, he refused Kearns.¹⁵ It was the last serious obstacle, Smoot was elected, and, elated, defined it as not only a personal victory but one for the Church. At this juncture, he was well aware that the fight was directed against the Church and its leaders but felt that divine Providence had interceded because "so many marvelous things transpired and was [sic] overruled for our good that I with others am compelled to say the outcome was as God desired it. It makes no difference to me personally whether I am seated or not, the great battle is won in my election."¹⁶ Although Smoot was doubtless sincere about seeing divine intervention in his election, he was also disguising his intense desire to win.

Even before Smoot left for Washington, D.C., in February 1903, he was deluged with letters from across the country protesting his election. He made earnest efforts to explain and elaborate on why he ought to be seated and why his Church should not be vili-

University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

¹⁵Kearns had gone to Washington, D.C., that year to drum up support against a Smoot candidacy. Despite Roosevelt's initial preference that Smoot not run, Smith, an ardent Republican, felt he had to support Smoot's candidacy. Merlo J. Pusey, *Builders of the Kingdom: George A. Smith, John Henry Smith, George Albert Smith* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981) 184–88; see also John Henry Smith, Journal, January 2, 1903, John Henry Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives. An abridged and annotated edition of this journal is Jean Bickmore White, ed., *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1990).

¹⁶Smoot, Letter to Richard R. Lyman, January 30, 1903. The previous year on May 31, 1902, he had written to a good friend, Ern Eldredge: "Am in the race for the Senate and have all the perspective candidates against me. I am in the happiest position possible for I don't care much what the outcome will be."

fied. In his responses to this copious correspondence, which continued for the next three years, Smoot typically expressed appreciation for the writer's interest and briefly argued that Mormons have always been misunderstood and misrepresented.¹⁷ However, such diplomatic replies concealed the fact that Smoot was already physically spent and emotionally upset about what faced him in Washington. On January 10, he discussed with the First Presidency appropriate ways to deal with the effort to deny him his seat. The First Presidency recommended taking James H. Anderson¹⁸ to Washington as his assistant and, at Smoot's request, gave him a formal blessing.¹⁹

Before discussing the Smoot hearings, it is important to understand their place and significance in the context of previous hearings held by the U.S. Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections. Between 1791 and 1903, this committee heard 107 cases questioning whether an elected senator should be seated. The grounds were: questionable election practices (18), moral turpitude before the elections (8), moral turpitude after the elections (15), citizenship problems (3), appointment problems (26), two-thirds versus majority requirement (8), secession/treason associated with the Civil War (18), election from a state not in the Union (3), not an inhabitant of the state (3), credentials questioned (5), fistfights, brandishing pistols, or other undignified behavior (5), and religious beliefs (1). Smoot became the second senator in this last category.²⁰

One petition may come from a single individual or from thousands of individuals, and the records of petitions received did not always mention how many signed each petition. Nevertheless, even

¹⁷For a representative example, see Smoot, Letter to Mr. R. J. McIsaac, c/o Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa, January 31, 1903.

¹⁸Anderson was one of Smoot's strongest supporters. He, James Clove of Provo, Edward H. Callister and Thomas Hull of Salt Lake City, and William Spry of Tooele formed the nucleus of Smoot's political machine, later known as the "Federal Bunch."

¹⁹Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present, February 10 and 12, 1903, LDS Church Archives.

²⁰U.S. Congress, Senate, *Senate Election, Expulsion and Censure Cases from 1789–1960*, Senate Document 71, 87th Cong., 2nd sess., 1962.

with these qualifications in mind, the 3,482 petitions sent to Washington protesting the seating of Smoot represented a significant number of citizens presumably motivated by moral outrage.

Analyzing these petitions by category and geography is instructive. The largest category may be termed “general” and accounted for approximately 1,100 of the petitions. Also included in this group are large nonreligious groups that included such formally organized associations as reading clubs, literary clubs, the Association of Mechanics, or a more specific group like the Epworth League.

The second category of petitions, which numbered 891, came from Christian women’s organizations, often evangelical in nature. These groups subscribed to no particular religious affiliation, but their members seemed to be either Methodists, Presbyterians, or Baptists. Conspicuous by their absence were Catholic women’s organizations.²¹ Among these women’s groups, the leader was the Women’s Christian Temperance Organization, followed by the Women’s Home Missionary Society. Other prominent women’s organizations were the International Congress of Mothers and the International Council of Women.

The third category consisted of the above-mentioned religious groups, led by the Presbyterians, followed closely by the Methodists and the Baptists. They submitted petitions through local congregations or by combining with two or more geographically contiguous congregations. The demographic configuration of this group’s origins is equally interesting. Pennsylvania distinguished itself by outdistancing the next closest state, New York, by a margin of more than three to one—1,045 to New York’s 325, possibly because W. H. Paden, an initiator of the original Salt Lake City Ministerial Association petition, was a Pennsylvania native with ties to its religious communities. Furthermore, Leilich, shortly after alleging that Smoot was a polygamist, was transferred to Scranton, Pennsylvania, where he probably instigated petitions. Other states producing more than a hundred petitions were New Jersey (268), Indiana (247), Ohio (191), Illinois

²¹This is not surprising for Catholicism underwent much of the same persecution patterns as the Mormons experienced. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925*, 2d ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988), esp. chaps. 4, 7. John F. Kennedy in 1960 was the first to breach the barrier against Catholics to the U.S. presidency.

(172), Iowa (105), Michigan (102), Rhode Island (101), and Colorado (101). Conspicuous by their relative absence were the eleven Southern states, which produced fewer than 100 petitions, while the Northern states were collectively responsible for 2,476 of the 3,482 petitions (71 percent). The South was only a few decades away from its own quest for political legitimacy, and post-Civil War Southern politicians inveighed against those who sought to circumscribe or dictate political or social behavior. They had too recently been indicted as practicing the other “relic of barbarism” and had suffered the consequences of their “peculiar institution.”²²

Interestingly, the states with the greatest numbers of petitions against Smoot seemed to follow the Saints’ route west from New York to Utah, especially Colorado and Idaho.²³ Colorado’s concern could be attributed to the anti-Mormon sentiment fomented by Frank Cannon, who was not only an inveterate enemy of the Church since Joseph F. Smith had become Church president, but also Smoot’s nemesis for many years. Idaho, with its large Mormon population, was still engaged in Mormon-baiting and Mormon-hating carried over from the 1880s and 1890s, a hysteria largely kept alive by Idaho Senator Fred Dubois.

The South was separated by just a few decades from its own quest for political legitimacy. Post-war southern politicians fulminated against those who sought to circumscribe or dictate political or social behavior.

THE YEAR 1903

After arriving in Washington, D.C., Smoot learned that he would be presented and seated, after which his seat would be con-

²²David Buice, “‘A Stench in the Nostrils of Honest Men’: Southern Democrats and the Edmunds Act of 1882,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21 (Fall 1988): 100–13. For parallels between the southern and Mormon experience, see Howard R. Lamar, “Statehood for Utah: A Different Path,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (1971): 308–27. The First Presidency, also aware of this parallel, compared the South’s problems with their own and thought the Smoot hearings reflected the same basic issue of a minority with its own values and culture living among a majority with different ones. First Presidency, Letter to Reed Smoot, January 20, 1904.

²³See F. Ross Peterson, *Idaho: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), and Merle W. Wells, *Anti-Mormonism in Idaho, 1872–92* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), esp. 179–83.

tested. Smoot hoped against hope this would not happen, but he expected it. His colleagues in Salt Lake did what they could to assuage public opinion in the East by contacting every possible friend the Church had in these areas and soliciting their support for the already-beleaguered senator.²⁴

Whether Smoot or Church leaders felt secure about the outcome is difficult to determine, although it appears that, in the early stages, many thought Smoot would weather the storm and the Church would be vindicated. LDS Apostle Heber J. Grant commented, "I do not think there will be any trouble regarding Reed's getting his seat, and seeing there is so much opposition I am of the opinion that his election was the best thing to advertise us. The devil does us a lot of good although he does not intend to do so."²⁵ Smoot displayed a cautious optimism. However, as the hearings proceeded, his attitude underwent emotional swings from jubilant optimism to dire depression.

The hearings might have begun on a calmer note had not Leilich chosen to charge Smoot with polygamy. Although Smoot and the Church knew they could easily deflect this charge, it was bothersome. The investigating committee never took this charge seriously, but the cumulative effect was an unnecessary distraction from other issues. Newspapers, primarily fed by the *Salt Lake Tribune*, were making it the leading issue of the upcoming hearings. The initial response was to have Smoot instigate a lawsuit against Leilich for criminal libel and have him arrested upon his arrival in Washington to testify.²⁶ This recommendation came from many nonmembers who wrote or talked to Church officials. In a letter to Smoot, the First Presidency indicated what seemed to be a groundswell of support for this legal counterattack.²⁷

Initially, Smoot found the Leilich charge helpful. Although some senators joked about his supposed marital relationships, most saw it as a sign that his detractors lacked credibility and, correspond-

²⁴Lund, Diary, February 17 and 27, 1903; and Smoot, Letter to the First Presidency, March 3, 1903.

²⁵Grant, Letter to John Henry Smith, March 9, 1903, John Henry Smith Papers.

²⁶George F. Gibbs, Telegram to Reed Smoot, February 27, 1903. Gibbs was secretary to the First Presidency.

²⁷First Presidency, Letter to Smoot, March 9, 1903.

ingly, increased credibility for Smoot.²⁸ President Roosevelt asked Smoot directly, "Are you a polygamist?" Smoot responded: "I pledged him I was not." Roosevelt replied: "Senator Smoot that is enough for me."²⁹ However, the charge refused to go away and would continue to surface throughout the hearings, haunting him.

The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections appointed nine Republicans and five Democrats to conduct the initial hearings and subsequently report their findings and recommendations to the full body of the Senate. Although the committee's composition changed over time, the original committee consisted of these Republicans: Julius C. Burrows³⁰ of Michigan, who served as chair, George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, Louis E. McComas of Maryland, Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, Chauncy M. Depew of New York, Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, William P. Dillingham of Vermont, Albert J. Hopkins of Illinois, and Philander C. Knox of Pennsylvania. The five Democrats were Edmund W. Pettus of Alabama, Fred T. Dubois of Idaho, Joseph W. Bailey of Texas, Lee S. Overman of North Carolina, and James P. Clarke of Arkansas.

The first page of the formal protest filed by the Ministerial Association against the seating of Smoot spelled out the issues involved:

We . . . do hereby most respectfully protest:

That Apostle Reed Smoot, Senator-elect from the State of Utah, . . . ought not to be permitted to qualify by taking the oath of office or sit as a member of the United States Congress, for reasons affecting the honor and dignity of the United States and their Senators in Congress.

. . . He is one of a self-perpetuating body of fifteen men who, constituting the ruling authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or "Mormon" Church, claim, and by their fol-

²⁸Smoot, Letter to James Clove, March 10, 1903, stated, "Instead of hurting me with the Committee on Privileges and Elections and with the Senate, it has been a great help and those that were undecided before now have no hesitation in stating that the whole fight is based on fanaticism and bigotry."

²⁹Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, March 5, 1903.

³⁰Ironically, Burrows was a distant relative of Joseph F. Smith. Burrows's animus toward Smoot and the LDS Church resulted from constituent pressure at home and anti-Mormon information supplied by Critchlow and Charles M. Owen.

lowers are accorded the right to claim, supreme authority, divinely sanctioned, to shape the belief and control the conduct of those under them in all matters whatsoever, civil and religious, temporal and spiritual, and who thus, uniting in themselves authority and church and state, do so exercise the same as to inculcate and encourage a belief in polygamy and polygamous cohabitation; who countenance and connive at violations of the laws of the State prohibiting the same regardless of pledges made for the purpose of obtaining statehood and of covenants made with the people of the United States, and who by all the means in their power protect and honor those who with themselves violate the laws of the land and are guilty of practices destructive of the family and the home.³¹

The protesters then quoted LDS scripture, LDS historians and theologians, and talks by Church authorities—all intended to prove that the Church represented the antithesis of American society, culture, and government.

Newspapers across the country found the topic not only informative but titillating. Most major papers in the East tracked the proceedings consistently.³² The major Salt Lake City newspapers—then the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the *Deseret News*, and *Salt Lake Herald*—ran almost daily stories on the hearings. The *Salt Lake Tribune* devoted the most space to the hearings and even mailed copies daily to all members of the Committee on Elections and Privileges and all government department heads. The *Tribune* enjoyed adding to the woes of Smoot's defense by printing as much sensational material as it could find.

Perhaps the most vicious media coverage was not the editorials and headlines but the cartoons and caricatures of Reed Smoot, Joseph F. Smith, and the LDS Church. Smoot was often depicted as a

³¹*Smoot Hearings*, 1:1.

³²The Smoot Papers contain four large scrapbooks of newspaper clippings covering this period, not always with dates and pages identified. For the impact of this press coverage on the Church in general and Smoot in particular, see Jan Shippy, "The Public Image of Sen. Reed Smoot, 1902–1932," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Fall 1977): 382–400, and her "From Satyr to Saint: American Perceptions of Mormons, 1860–1960," in her *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years among the Mormons* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); and O. N. Malmquist, *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871–1971* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971, 218–35).

clown, buffoon, or puppet.³³

At the outset of the hearings, it was unclear just who was on trial—Smoot or the Church.³⁴ A reading of the proceedings indicates that the focus fluctuated between Smoot and the Church. However, Church practices and policies received substantially more attention than Smoot's personal life or qualifications, although it is difficult to separate the two issues.

From March through September 1903, optimism still reigned in Smoot's camp. Despite the charges, no serious damage had yet been done to Smoot's cause. His personal secretary, Carlos ("Carl") Ashby Badger, monitored media coverage and gossip. His reports to Smoot and others reflected a rather sanguine feeling that the worst was over and Smoot would soon be vindicated.³⁵ By the time the Senate reconvened in October 1903, Badger informed E. H. Callister that nothing serious had occurred. He reasoned: "It would not be good politics for the Republican party to unseat him and they are going to play good politics. It would be rank injustice and the party is not going to do injustice especially when it is not to their interest to do it."³⁶

By the time Congress reassembled in November, Smoot's case took a turn for the worse; and over the next two months, the optimism of the past turned to deep concern. The first major problem occurred on November 4, 1903, when LDS Apostle Heber J. Grant intemperately opined the University of Utah studentbody that he would happily contribute to the alumni association \$50 for himself and \$50 for each of his two wives. After hearty applause, he continued, "Yes, I

³³Davis Bitton and Gary L. Bunker, "Mischievous Puck and the Mormons, 1904–1907," *BYU Studies* 18 (Summer 1978): 504–19. Political cartooning had also proved embarrassing during the B. H. Roberts case in 1898.

³⁴Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 31, asserted, "[Smoot] always insisted that it was a war against the Church and not against the Apostle. He was probably wrong."

³⁵Carl Badger's letters are critical for the context of this period: Letters to Reed Smoot, May 18, June 3 and 5, September 16 and 18, 1903; Letter to James Clove, August 9, 1903; to (first name not given) Wells, June 16, 1903; Letter to R. S. Collett, June 19, 1903; and Letter to A. B. Irvine, September 26, 1903. All Badger correspondence is in the Carlos Ashby Papers, Perry Special Collections.

³⁶Carl Badger, Letter to Ed Callister, October 13, 1903.

have two wives and the only reason I haven't got another is because the government won't let me."³⁷ News of this statement hit the Eastern papers like a bombshell. Grant promptly became the subject of a warrant issued for his arrest, which, to avoid, he was called to preside over the European Mission.³⁸

On November 18, Smoot wrote to Joseph F. Smith, "That little episode of Heber J's at the State University is causing me considerable trouble, and some of my best friends in the Senate have wanted me to explain just what it all means. In answer, I have taken the same position that Dr. Merrill of the State University took. That is, that Heber was embarrassed at the time, and said what he did without thought and more as a joke than anything else. Some of the Senators do not like it and are very free and frank in telling me so. I believe it will come out all right. Another thing they do not like, is Heber's running away, as they call it."³⁹

The next day, Smoot wrote more vexedly to John Henry Smith, "You state that Heber's case has created a stir in Salt Lake City, I can assure you that it is not to be compared to the sensation that it has created in the East. Heber is lost sight of as the person making the comment, and the whole criticism is laid at the door of the Church and myself." Smoot acknowledged he was having a difficult time explaining the matter satisfactorily to his friends in the Senate; however, he thought it would eventually blow over when his friends realized he had nothing to do with it.⁴⁰

For obvious reasons, Smoot revealed his outrage only to his close friends. While Church leaders in Salt Lake could only guess at

³⁷See Loman Franklin Aydelotte, "The Political Thought and Activity of Heber J. Grant, Seventh President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965), 30.

³⁸First Presidency, Letter to Francis M. Lyman, November 12, 1903, First Presidency Letterbooks, LDS Church Archives, reports that Heber J. Grant had left town so suddenly upon learning that a warrant had issued for his arrest for his University of Utah remarks that he had not bade farewell to the First Presidency. "We are glad however that he did so," continued the letter, "as his arrest might have produced perplexing complications seeing that the scheme was concocted by the Ministers Association of this city for the purpose of prejudicing Senator Smoot's case in Washington."

³⁹Smoot, Letter to Joseph Fielding Smith, November 18, 1903.

⁴⁰Smoot, Letter to John Henry Smith, November 19, 1903. On the

the impact the remarks had on Smoot's case, Smoot was deeply hurt and angered over such an unnecessary faux pas on Grant's part. In a letter to James Clove, he wrote, "Heber J's little episode . . . has caused an immense amount of unpleasant criticism against myself in particular and against the church in general. . . . I guess Heber is on the water [sailing to England], and we can all take a long breath again. Oh, what an immense amount of trouble would have been avoided if he had remained in Japan [as a missionary] a couple of months longer."⁴¹

The second disconcerting event dealt with the summer and fall activity of Senator Fred T. Dubois of Idaho, a rabid Mormon critic. He had gone to Salt Lake City the previous summer on a fact-finding mission to prove the allegations against Smoot. Smoot gloomily told Ben E. Rich that Dubois had learned "among other things . . . that polygamy was increasing very fast and also that I have taken an oath in the Endowment House and as an Apostle that totally unfits me for the position of United States Senator."⁴²

In addition, rumors surfaced from reliable sources that Dubois, along with Thomas Kearns and Senator William A. Clark of Montana, were planning to finance anti-Mormon newspapers in Idaho and

same day, Smoot complained to a friend, D. S. Spencer of the Oregon Short Line Railway Company: "Heber J's little episode has caused a great deal of stir and a great deal of unnecessary criticism."

⁴¹Smoot, Letter to Clove, November 21, 1903. See also Ronald W. Walker's excellent *Journal of Mormon History* articles: "Heber J. Grant's European Mission, 1903–1906," 14 (1988): 16–33, and "Strangers in a Strange Land: Heber J. Grant and the Opening of the Japanese Mission," 13 (1986–87): 20–43.

⁴²Smoot, Letter to Ben E. Rich, Atlanta, Georgia, November 12, 1903. Rich, then Southern States Mission president, lived in southeast Idaho and had had some contact and influence with Dubois in the past. Smoot was hoping Rich could suggest some approach to placate Dubois. Smoot wrote to James H. Anderson on November 17: "Senator Dubois is telling the newspaper boys that he already has me beaten, and that as soon as he brings in a minority report and makes four or five speeches against the Mormons revealing all of the secrets that he has found out during the last summer vacation, that there will only be eleven Senators who will vote for me and that all of the balance will be for expulsion." Rather defiantly, he added, "If there is no change of feeling from what there exists today, I do not believe that Fred Dubois can secure eleven votes against me."

Montana.⁴³ Dubois also compiled information for the committee on the number of Mormon state, county, and city officials to prove that Mormons controlled the entire political system of Utah.⁴⁴ Smoot's concern was well founded. After more petitions were entered against him, Senator George Hoar stated that the number of petitions was not relevant and should not prejudice Smoot's case. According to Smoot, most Senators thought Hoar's comment "was favorable to me and a great many of the papers have received it in the same way." But Dubois took the floor and argued that, until all the evidence was in against Smoot and the Mormons, no favorable attitude should be taken toward Smoot.⁴⁵

Additional negative media fall-out resulted from Dubois's resurrecting lurid tales of the Mountain Meadows Massacre. His accounts circulated in Eastern papers, and Smoot, unfamiliar with all the facts in this episode, asked James Anderson to quickly document as much as he could on this subject and mail it to him to be used in rebuttal.⁴⁶ Also emanating from Dubois were allegations, which the press picked up and published, that Mormons had shunned participation in the Spanish-American War. He claimed that, out of all the Utah volunteers who had fought in that war, only a few more than a hundred were Mormons.⁴⁷

By late 1903, Smoot and Church leaders were aware that the fight would be a serious one and that competent legal counsel was essential. The First Presidency had already designated longtime Church attorney

⁴³Smoot, Letter to George Sutherland, November 13, 1903.

⁴⁴Smoot, Letter to E. H. Callister, November 13, 1903.

⁴⁵Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, November 14, 1903. After Dubois, Senator Eugene Hale of Maine "next took the floor and he too disagreed with Senator Hoar stating that this was indeed a grave question; it involved not only the question of polygamy, but the control of politics of a certain part of this great government by a great religious hierarchy. You will remember that I have always expressed myself that it was my belief that Senator Hale would prove one of my bitterest enemies and I am still certain of that opinion."

⁴⁶Smoot, Letter to James H. Anderson, November 17, 1903.

⁴⁷Smoot, Letter to Richard W. Young, November 18, 1903. Smoot asked Young to obtain, if possible, the number of Mormon volunteers who actually fought in the war. For a definitive analysis of this issue, see D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Church and the Spanish-American War: An End to Selective Pacifism," *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (August 1974): 342-66.

Franklin S. Richards to represent the Church as their in-house attorney. Although others tried to dissuade Smoot from having Mormon attorneys assigned to his case, the First Presidency took a different position. "Our experience in the past has demonstrated that outside attorneys have but little conception of the real inwardness of our affairs, and in order to be of service to us, they require to be carefully posted and prompted by persons familiar with the issues, and, at the same time, possessing a deeper interest in the matter than any merely hired attorney can have."⁴⁸

Smoot explained to senators friendly to his case that he was going to employ Richards as one of his attorneys. They adamantly opposed the idea as they felt others would ask, "Is he a Mormon?" and then, upon learning that he was, would continue: "Is Smoot here to retain his seat or to defend the principles, practices and policies of his Church?" Smoot wrote back to Church President Joseph F. Smith, explained the problem, and hoped that Richards would be sensitive to the situation.⁴⁹

The dialogue over legal representation is the first indication that the First Presidency took the Smoot case seriously and began considering its possible negative effects on the Church. They, along with Smoot, received alarming reports of research which seemingly proved the claims of the Protestants. "There is no time to lose," the First Presidency wrote him on November 17. They warned him against taking "anybody into your confidence unless you are absolutely sure that he can be trusted and be true to your interests because, as you readily see, it would be a very great misfortune to select the wrong kind of a person, and thereby play into the hands of the opposition."⁵⁰

Before the month's end, Smoot learned that he should be prepared to present to the committee early in 1904 a written report responding to the two protests filed by the Association and Leilich. The attorney selection process worried him, and he spent the better part of two weeks discussing with Senate colleagues which attorneys might have the experience and competence his defense

⁴⁸First Presidency, Letter to Reed Smoot, November 17, 1903. However, the presidency wanted Richards to keep a low profile to avoid creating the impression that "the Church was making the fight."

⁴⁹Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, November 20, 1903.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

needed.⁵¹ On December 16, Smoot wrote to Joseph F. Smith that many prospective attorneys were being pressured not to accept the case; but he finally settled on a prominent attorney, A. S. Worthington, who had experience handling constitutional cases in the nation's capital. Back home in Utah, Salt Lake attorney Waldemar Van Cott was retained. Franklin S. Richards would be involved in the research end, helping to provide the information needed to respond to the charges.⁵²

While attorneys prepared their case, witnesses for the prosecution arrived in Washington, D.C., and newspaper reporters flocked to them for interviews. During late November and early December, Smoot attempted to keep Church officials apprised of the latest developments. However, even his telegrams became a point of publicity. He often sent them in code. When this fact was leaked to the press, and a howl went up about secrecy, subterfuge, and collusion between Smoot and Salt Lake City.⁵³ To complicate matters, Smoot learned that the secretary of the Senate was required to publish annually a complete list of all the Senators' telegrams, both sent and received, and their destinations. Therefore, Smoot began sending telegrams in cipher to aids like Callister and Anderson, who delivered the messages to the Church officials personally.⁵⁴

THE YEAR 1904

Smoot and his attorneys soon became aware of the tack to be taken by the prosecution. In December 1903, they learned that John G. Carlisle, the prosecuting attorney who had worked with Tayler but gradually assumed a more active role, would argue four points. First,

⁵¹Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, December 12, 1903.

⁵²Originally, Smoot wanted Idaho Senator and attorney William E. Borah. Borah declined. One explanation is that he had other commitments; but according to Borah's biographer, Claudius O. Johnson, *Borah of Idaho* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936), 71, Borah and Smoot could not agree on the fee. Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 44, concluded, probably correctly, that Borah would have been an excellent choice and it was unfortunate he was not available.

⁵³Smoot, Letter to E. H. Callister, November 24, 1903.

⁵⁴Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, November 25, 1903. Smoot, concerned about leaks of any kind, asked everyone to keep all correspondence under lock and key. He also periodically changed the code.

the prosecution would attempt to prove Smoot a polygamist. Second, they would prove that Smoot had taken an oath against the state of Utah and the government of the United States. Third, if the above two failed, they would show that such an oath was administered by the Church; hence, if Smoot were asked by the Church to oppose the government, he would have to comply. Fourth, failing in the above points, the prosecution would reason that Smoot should be expelled because Utah had violated its compact with the Union by flagrantly permitting polygamy to be practiced.⁵⁵

With the first session of the Senate investigating committee due to start on January 9, Smoot and his attorneys worked frantically to deflect the prosecution's case. Smoot and Franklin S. Richards, as members of the Church, wanted to minimize the possibility of dragging Church leaders into the hearings. Smoot informed President Smith, "We have contented you with simple denials and admissions, and in doing so, it will compel them to subpoena you, or any of the authorities, if you, or they, are compelled to be present. We are in hopes that we can avoid this, and you can rest assured that we will leave no stone unturned to prevent it."⁵⁶

To downplay the possibility of subpoenaing Church authorities, Smoot tried to discourage a movement afoot on the part of some committee members to conduct an investigative trip to Salt Lake City. Smoot feared that the committee members would find a group of anti-Mormons who would eagerly provide fuel for the flames already licking at the alleged Mormon misconduct; he also feared that they would misunderstand or misinterpret what might be said by well-meaning Mormons and non-Mormons alike. Smoot wanted the battleground to remain in Washington, D.C.⁵⁷

He informed Smith he would personally appeal to President Roosevelt to help stop such a trip. Four days later, Smoot paid the promised visit to Roosevelt, naturally emphasizing that the real danger was to the Republican Party and to Roosevelt's support in Utah. An unfortunate incident might pose problems for the upcoming election. As matters now rested, Utah's electoral votes could be delivered, without question, to Roosevelt. Why rock the political boat? According to Roosevelt, J. C. Burrows, who was

⁵⁵Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, December 12, 1903.

⁵⁶Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 4, 1904.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

spearheading the visit, was making political hay with his constituents as his reelection approached. (Michigan had sent more than a hundred petitions protesting Smoot's seating.) Roosevelt agreed to talk to all the Senators he could and dissuade them from such an investigative foray.⁵⁸

As the opening day approached, Smoot became concerned upon learning from Dillingham that Burrows planned to investigate all charges and bring the Church and its leaders into the fray. According to Dillingham, Burrows was now Smoot's arch-enemy and any rapport he thought he had with Burrows during the last session was gone.⁵⁹ Senator Hale provided some comic relief by exclaiming in the Senate cloakroom that he did not like the "class distinction" introduced by Smoot's denial that he had ever cohabited with any woman but his wife. "In explanation . . . he said that eighty-nine of the Senators could not be classed in that category, and he hardly thought that it would be right for Smoot to stand out alone."⁶⁰

The committee's first meeting on January 16 did not go well. Dillingham's predictions were accurate. Burrows commented forthrightly, "Senator Smoot, you are not on trial. It is the Mormon church that we intend to investigate, and we are going to see that those men obey the law." The careful planning by Smoot and his counsel to keep Smoot in the center ring and the Church in the bleachers was a failure. The plan now, Smoot explained to the First Presidency, consisted of two options: "To either confess [to] all charges against the Church and the authorities by not denying them, and to let expulsion follow as the penalty therefore, or deny the accusations and take the chances of an investigation. We understood you approved the latter course, and have acted accordingly."⁶¹

Even before receiving Smoot's letter, President Smith and his counselors had become aware "that your opponents have changed base and that their attack is to be along very different lines." They admonished Smoot to use good judgment and not to waste time re-

⁵⁸Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, July 8, 1903.

⁵⁹Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 9, 1904.

⁶⁰Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 11, 1904.

⁶¹Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund, January 18, 1904.

sponding to minor charges. Above all, they wanted Smoot to understand that he must represent the state, not the Church. By so doing, the committee could not say that the state broke the compact regarding polygamy. They also reminded Smoot to deny any knowledge of violations of law on the part of the Presidency and the Apostles.

The First Presidency was seeking faithful Church members who could be trusted, if called as witnesses for the defense, to testify that “no covenant is made in the endowment inimical to the government,” but confessed, “We have not been able to find many who would go to Washington for this purpose.”⁶² In addition, they were “asking local authorities to confidentially gather evidence to show the ‘unreliability’ and ‘general worthlessness’ of various individuals asked to testify or sign affidavits against Smoot.”⁶³

Smoot’s more immediate problem was trying to counteract the presence of Charles Mostyn Owen and Frank J. Cannon in

⁶²First Presidency, Letter to Reed Smoot, January 20, 1904. They also told Smoot: “We did so judging you by ourselves, for we could not say that *we knew* of any of them violating the laws of the state and we did not think you knew of any either. If there be violations, they are not by the counsels of the Church, but contrary to our counsel, and therefore the law breakers, if any there be, must be held responsible for their own acts.” Upon receiving this letter, Smoot was concerned because he did not know how to testify what the Brethren had done or were doing. Smoot predicted that the prosecution would claim: “Joseph F. Smith had been to my home with different wives, that he went to Canada with a woman other than his first wife, also that he went to St. Louis with a different woman, claiming them to be his wives and introducing them as such and that I knew it. Of course, I can testify that I do not know any of the First Presidency or Twelve Apostles having sexual intercourse with more than one woman, but they are going to hold that that is not necessary. I can even testify that I do not know that a child has been born to Joseph F. Smith or any of the First Presidency, or the Twelve Apostles by their plural wives since the Manifesto; but Charles M. Owen will give the names of their wives and the names and ages of the children of those wives born since the Manifesto, and, of course, they will claim that I certainly knew of these things. You can rest assured that I will be as careful as it is possible for me to be, and that I will testify to nothing that I am not compelled to.” Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 26, 1904.

⁶³Joseph F. Smith, Letter to W. H. Seegmuller, January 7, 1904, First Presidency Letterbooks.

Washington.⁶⁴ They were there not only to provide evidence for the prosecution but also to speak on every possible occasion to the press, regaling reporters with lurid tales of Utah's political and moral climate. Owen disclosed to some committee members the fact that Joseph Marion Tanner had been fired from the Utah Agricultural College for polygamy whereupon Church leaders had called him, as a "reward," to serve as superintendent of all Church schools. Smoot asked Joseph F. Smith to provide complete details of these actions.⁶⁵

At this juncture, Smoot contemplated what he had brought upon the Church and himself. He knew of friends at home who thought his election was a mistake and who felt the price to be exacted for him to be seated was scarcely worth the problems his case presented. Smoot also knew that some of his colleagues in the Quorum of the Twelve were less than enthusiastic about his rocky political career. He considered the possibility of resigning, but his spirits were substantially buoyed upon receiving a letter from Joseph F. Smith stating his support in fighting through to the end for his right to be seated.⁶⁶

The testimony of witnesses was scheduled to begin early in Febru-

⁶⁴Owen had been B. H. Roberts's primary opponent against his seating in 1898. Journalist and historian Samuel W. Taylor called Owen "the meanest man in Deseret." *Rocky Mountain Empire* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1978), chap. 1; see Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 19, 1904.

⁶⁵Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 24, 1904. J. M. Tanner was a son of Utah County resident Myron Tanner, who was one of the original trustee members of Brigham Young Academy and a bishop of the Payson Ward. Tanner had gone East in the 1890s for higher education and had returned to Utah where he taught at BYU and Utah Agricultural College in Logan, from which he was forced to resign under threat of having federal funds to the "AC" cut off.

⁶⁶Smoot wrote to his friend James Clove on February 3, 1903: "I received a letter from Joseph F. today and it has made me feel like things are all right. I noticed in your letter that you expressed the opinion when you called upon him that he had his fighting clothes on. The letter I received today could not be a stronger endorsement of the position that I have taken in my fight. I feel like a load has been taken off my shoulders, and I can assure you that there is no backing down or running away from the issue on his

ary 1904, but Burrows informed Smoot that the committee decided to postpone them until March to give the prosecution more time to prepare its case. Burrows further antagonized Smoot by constantly huddling, as it seemed to him, with Dubois, Frank Cannon, and Charles Owen. After one of these meetings, Smoot asked Burrows for a list of the committee's witnesses in order for his own preparation. Burrows replied candidly, "Oh, no. We could never do that, for if we did you would telegraph home and they would get out of the way." Smoot wrote to Joseph F. Smith, "This was a little more than I could stand without showing my disgust, and I told Mr. Burrows he need not worry about their going to run away, that his statement was uncalled for, and a reflection upon the people who did not deserve it, and that it was without foundation."⁶⁷ Despite Smoot's disgust, however, there *was* considerable foundation for the accusation. Heber J. Grant had already fled. Frank Cannon's father had eluded federal authorities for years as had dozens of other men during the Raid of the 1880s. Furthermore, unfortunately for Smoot, Burrows's prediction that some subpoenaed witnesses would not appear proved to be accurate.

part." In the same vein, Smoot wrote to Joseph F. Smith two days later: "I must acknowledge that I have had feelings that some of the Brethren have taken the position that I was to blame for all this unpleasantness and trouble brought upon the Church through my personal ambition. This feeling has grown within me as reports have come to me through men I cannot doubt that several of the Brethren have expressed themselves as above stated, and thinking that they were true it has greatly relieved me to receive your letter. I have never worried one second over myself or what may happen to me in this investigation, but I have laid awake nights thinking how I could protect you and your counselors from being brought into the fight. There has never been a time since the question of my running for United States Senator was discussed that I would not have willingly withdrawn if you had even intimated that it was best to do so. There are many things I would much prefer to do than being mixed up in politics, but if that has fallen to my lot, I shall accept it the best I can. I have read your letter over and over again and it appeals to me stronger each time I read it, and I thank the Lord that we have a Presidency that cannot be easily frightened and if I can have the support of my Brethren, I will not shrink from any issue." Smoot's statement about his personal preference not to be "mixed up in politics" must be read with a certain amount of skepticism since he had ardently sought the seat and strenuously fought to retain it.

⁶⁷Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, February 9, 1904.

The committee was finally ready to proceed with the hearings on March 2, 1904. The subpoenas were sent out, and Joseph F. Smith was called as the first witness. Smith admitted to cohabiting with and having children by his five plural wives. He brushed aside as temporary Wilford Woodruff's interpretation to the master in chancery in 1891, upon which the restoration of the Church's property depended: that the Manifesto forbade ongoing cohabitation with already-married plural wives as well as forbidding new plural marriages. According to Smith, "the only restriction binding for the admission of the State [in 1896] was that plural marriages should cease, and there was nothing said in the enabling act prohibiting the cohabitation of a man with his wives at the time."

He candidly admitted: "I simply took my chances preferring to meet the consequences of the law rather than to abandon my children and their mothers; and I have cohabited with my wives, not . . . in a manner that I thought would be offensive to my neighbors—but I have acknowledged them; I have visited them. They have borne me [eleven] children since 1890, and I have done it, knowing the responsibility and knowing that I was amenable to the law." The attorney for the prosecution, Mr. Tayler sarcastically asked: "Do you consider it an abandonment of your family to maintain relations with your wives except that of occupying their beds?" Smith rejoined, "I do not wish to be impertinent, but I should like the gentleman to ask any woman, who is a wife, that question."⁶⁸

Needless to say, the press interpreted Smith's unexpectedly candid testimony as confirmation of the petitions' allegations. The ever-loyal Smoot wrote stoically to James H. Anderson: "The testimony of Joseph F. Smith has startled the nation, and the papers are having a great deal to say about the lack of faith on the part of the Mormon people with the government of the United States."⁶⁹ Smith was on the stand for three days and his testimony covered a wide range of issues—polygamy, Church involvement in business, Church involvement in politics, and an exegesis of Mor-

⁶⁸U.S. Senate, Committee on Privileges and Elections, *Proceedings . . . in the Matter of the Protests against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat*, 59th Congress, 1st session, Senate Report No. 486, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904–07), 1:129–31 (hereafter *Smoot Hearings*).

⁶⁹Smoot, Letter to James H. Anderson, March 18, 1904.

mon doctrine and practice.⁷⁰

Apostle Francis M. Lyman, the next Church authority to testify and president of the Twelve, followed Joseph F. Smith's lead, explaining that he also felt obligated to care for his wives and family. The anxious Smoot commented, "Brother Lyman did not do so well. . . . The only thing that I can say is that Brother Lyman did not grasp the meaning of the questions asked him. It certainly was a very trying position for a man to be placed in and I suppose it would be wrong to judge a man too harshly under those conditions."⁷¹ Edward H. Callister commented that, in contrast to Joseph F. Smith, who had done "remarkably well on the stand," he was "sorely disappointed with Prest. Lyman's testimony. He must have lost his head."⁷² Carl Badger, coldly watching the progress of the hearings, felt that the testimonies of Smith and Lyman had angered the country by violating expectations that the Church would comply with the law and the Manifesto. Badger consistently took the position that honesty was, and ought to be, the Church's best policy, so he judged that, despite the outrage the Smith and Lyman testimony had precipitated, it was a positive step: "An honest confession being good for the soul, I think the testimony ought to do us all good."⁷³

Two other subpoenaed apostles, Marriner W. Merrill and George Teasdale, sent letters asking to be excused because of illness.⁷⁴ John Henry Smith, also ill, appeared at a later date. However, the two apostles the prosecution most wanted to grill were two of the younger and more active in promoting polygamy: John W. Taylor and

⁷⁰Ibid., 1:80–388.

⁷¹Smoot, Letter to George A. Smoot, March 29, 1904. Lyman also reiterated that the Church did not control or interfere in politics or business.

⁷²Edward H. Callister, Letter to Carl Badger, March 9, 1904.

⁷³Badger, Letter to E. H. Callister, March 18, 1904.

⁷⁴Merrill, then seventy-two, died a year later in February 1906. Teasdale was both ill and residing in Mexico. George Gibbs sent the affidavit to Teasdale asking to be excused, then forwarded the signed statements to Smoot's attorneys. First Presidency Letterbooks, January 6, 1905. After the conclusion of the spring 1904 hearings, one of the First Presidency (name illegible, presumably Joseph F. Smith) cautioned him to stay in Mexico: "I regret more than I can tell you that matters have not changed favorably for your return home." First Presidency Letterbooks, May 11, 1905. A

Matthias Cowley. They refused to testify and avoided subpoenas by either leaving Utah or maintaining the anonymity necessary to avoid apprehension. The prosecution asked President Smith to use his influence to get them to testify.⁷⁵ Smith replied that since the Church did not believe in compulsion, especially in areas not related to the Church, he had no authority to demand their presence before the committee.⁷⁶

The combination of Smith and Lyman's testimony and non-compliance from the other witnesses plunged the Smoot camp into deep despondency. Anthon H. Lund confided in his diary, "My mind is much agitated on account of the Smoot trial. I fear that there are more cases of late plural marriages than has been be-

week later on May 17, Smoot wrote consolingly to Teasdale that "I never expected you to be there and go through the terrible ordeal."

⁷⁵John W. Taylor responded to Joseph F. Smith: "I received telegram and letter about going to Washington for the purpose of testifying in the Smoot case, and I think I fully appreciate what you say on the subject, but I must ask you to excuse me from complying with your request in this respect, both on account of my business interests and my own positive disinclinations to do so. . . . I do not feel that I am at all interested in the sensational case now pending before the Senate Committee on privileges and elections . . . and I do not think for a moment that there is anything in the Smoot case which would warrant [sic] me neglecting my personal interests in order to go to Washington." Taylor stated that, since he was now a citizen of Canada, he could see no reason to honor the request from the United States government. Furthermore, "the whole stir concerning Senator Smoot was hatched by that mettlesome coterie of busybodies known as the Ministerial Association of Salt Lake City. . . . They would use me to help carry out their diabolical schemes. President Smith, this I cannot do, and maintain my self respect. . . . I trust you will not misunderstand me in this matter, or construe my refusal to voluntarily go before the Senatorial Committee to be in any wise disrespectful to you, and least of all as affecting in any way our official relations in the Church. . . . In my official labors as an Apostle in the Church, I hold myself entirely subject to your direction; but in a matter so personal and purely political, concocted for the purpose for prying into the domestic relations of men who are in no wise amenable to this class of schemers, I must ask to be excused for entering a task so humiliating." John W. Taylor, Canada, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, March 16, 1904, copy in Smoot Papers.

⁷⁶Joseph F. Smith, *Smoot Hearings*, 1:131.

lieved by us. There seems to be rumors of such all over.”⁷⁷ Although Joseph F. Smith declared, “I believe the Lord and truth were overwhelmingly on *our* side,”⁷⁸ many thought otherwise. By May 1904, Franklin S. Richards was suggesting that Smoot resign to avoid additional trouble and embarrassment.⁷⁹

The press focused on one issue in the testimonies and made it the key issue for the American public. As Smoot said to a colleague, “The American people will not make a distinction between unlawful cohabitation and polygamy. I have tried over and over again to explain the differences to Senators of the United States and even they will not admit that there is a particle of difference between unlawful cohabitation and polygamy.”⁸⁰ It was, admittedly, a fine distinction as long as the dates of plural marriages were so strenuously concealed. To friend and confidant Ed Callister, Smoot lamented that almost every leading paper in the nation spoke strongly against Lyman’s testimony and was up in arms against the conditions in Utah as testified to by both Smith and Lyman. Smoot stated, “The great dailies of America and the leading public men are shocked more over the admission made by them that they are breaking both the law of God and the law of the land and intend to do so in the future, than the fact of a few cases of new polygamous marriages. . . . The danger that I see from this condition of affairs is that the American people will brand us as insincere and untruthful.”⁸¹

In a letter the next day on March 23 to Joseph F. Smith, Smoot toned down his concerns but stressed: “The daily papers are writing editorials against us from a much more serious point of view” and predicted that “a more bitter feeling” would be created

with the thinking class of people. . . . Thousands of editorials are appearing now branding the Mormon leaders as liars, covenant breakers, violators of the laws of man and the law of God, and the Mormon people as dupes and religious fanatics. . . . The Senators . . . are beginning to question the sincerity of the Mormon people and discuss-

⁷⁷Lund, Diary, March 22, 1904.

⁷⁸Smith, Letter to John T. Smellie, March 18, 1904, First Presidency Letterbooks.

⁷⁹Lund, Diary, May 16, 1904. Lund recorded that this proposal was premature.

⁸⁰Smoot, Letter to James Clove, March 22, 1904.

⁸¹Smoot, Letter to E. H. Callister, March 22, 1904.

ing what they term the broken pledges made to the government by the leaders of the Mormon Church. . . . Senator Hoar yesterday in talking with me said that he did not object to the position taken by you in defending and caring for the wives and their children that you had taken before the Manifesto, but rather admired the stand you took; but he did unhesitatingly denounce your position in defying the laws of the land and breaking the laws of God, and also regretted to hear your answer that for so doing you expect to ask and receive mercy. . . . This sentiment of insincerity has permeated the whole Senate, and a great many Senators have brought me the testimony and asked me for an explanation, and I must admit that it is the hardest thing that I have had to meet in life. . . . It has worried me until I can hardly sleep, I have prayed over it and have received no answer to my prayers satisfactory to myself.⁸²

He added that previously friendly senators had assured him that up to two thousand letters a day were being received by some senators, “demanding that they listen to the voice of the American people, and vote to unseat me no matter what the testimony may be.”⁸³ These same Senators also pleaded with Smoot to force Taylor and Cowley to come to Washington to testify. If Joseph F. Smith’s testimony had been so sensational, what were the elusive apostles likely to know? Carl Badger captured the situation with precision in a letter to Franklin S. Richards: “I do not want them to come and lie and I do not know whether I want them to tell the truth, so there you are,—the devil and the deep sea.”⁸⁴

By the end of March, Burrows twice confronted Smoot, demanding when Taylor and Cowley would appear. Apparently, President Smith had not yet informed Smoot that Taylor refused to come. Meanwhile, Cowley who had surfaced in Colorado in late March 1904, notified Joseph F. Smith that he refused to come.⁸⁵

At April 1904 general conference, President Smith issued the

⁸²Smoot, Letter to Smith, March 23, 1904.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Carl Badger, Letter to Franklin S. Richards, March 23, 1904.

⁸⁵Matthew Cowley, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, March 28, 1904, copy in Smoot papers: “In replay [sic], will state that my case does not differ materially from those of the Brethren already examined and as my testimony would be merely cumulative, I draw the conclusion that the purpose of those contesting the seat of Senator Smoot is to keep his case as long as pos-

"Second Manifesto," which reiterated the Church's opposition to polygamy and informed members that new plural marriages could result in excommunication. Just prior to the conference sessions, the General Authorities were concerned not only with what their detractors were saying in Washington, but also with the doubts created in the minds of Church members themselves over the status of plural marriage.⁸⁶ Smoot felt that issuing this second manifesto was imperative. He realized that if one compared theory with practice, the perception of duplicity on the part of Church leaders was all too apparent. In Smoot's words: "[We] have not as a people at all times, lived strictly to our agreements with the government, and this lack of sincerity on our part goes further to condemn us in the eyes of public men of the nation than the mere fact of new polygamy cases or a polygamist before the Manifesto living in the state of [un]lawful cohabitation."⁸⁷ Badger was even blunter: "Instead of shouting about the opportunity which we have had of teaching our faith to the world, we ought to jot down the unpleasant but obvious fact, that the lesson which the world is learning from the testimony thus far given is, that we have failed to keep our word. I wish our people would come to the conclusion that this investigation has not been wholly creditable to us."⁸⁸

To many in Washington, such action as the Second Manifesto was too little, too late. Senators still approached Smoot to express their concern over what his Church colleagues had confessed. As

sible before the country and to intensify thereby the prejudice and agitation of the people of the United States against the Church of Latter-day Saints and which Church is not a party to such proceedings. If subpoenaed, I should of course consider it my duty to go. Under the circumstances, however, I have concluded to decline making a voluntary appearance before the Senate Committee in Washington. I ask therefor [sic] to be excused in my refusal to accede to your request."

⁸⁶Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 64–65. John Henry Smith admitted in a letter to Heber J. Grant, July 15, 1904: "There is some sentiments expressed that the brethren have been playing two parts and has caused a little unrest among some of our young people as well as among some of the more mature years." Smith Family Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

⁸⁷Smoot, Letter to Jesse M. Smith, March 22, 1904.

⁸⁸Carl Badger, Letter to R. S. Collett, March 21, 1904.

Smoot put it, "I have had a pretty hard time to keep some of my former friends from deserting me, and also the Washington papers from making an open warfare on me." Senator Thomas Platt, a Republican from Connecticut, was concerned enough to consider introducing a Constitutional amendment prohibiting polygamy. Some senators expressed the sentiment that the Congress and the people might be "ripe for such an amendment."⁸⁹ Smoot, in reporting these developments, apologized to Smith for his pessimism but felt that Smith ought to know the worst. In fact, there is considerable evidence that Smoot felt that Joseph F. Smith, despite the almost daily correspondence, often did not fully appreciate the seriousness of the crisis.

Smoot received a substantial jolt when Smith informed him that Taylor and Cowley would not come. He was especially perturbed because he felt that Smith seemed to side with Taylor and Cowley. Smith told Smoot almost dismissively, "I would very much rather that they had been willing to go, but it is taken by them as a matter of conscience . . . and they must judge for themselves in such matters." Given "the scandalous treatment I have received from the public press," Smith added, "I cannot blame these gentlemen for the conclusion that they have reached" even though, in what was clearly an afterthought, "they will have to abide the results themselves."⁹⁰ Smoot acknowledged that testifying could be embarrassing for Taylor and Cowley; on the other hand, their absence proved to be equally embarrassing to Smoot and his legal counsel. Smoot importuned Smith to break the news to "Julius Czar" Burrows, and Smith did, at least excusing Smoot from that messy chore.⁹¹

Even though he was relieved when the Senate recessed in May, Smoot was disappointed that his case would not be resolved as speedily as he had hoped. Burrows was determined to press every issue and obtain every witness before concluding the hearings. Smoot hoped the summer recess would give him some relief from being in the nation's capital where anxiety had taken its toll on him physically and mentally. Smoot felt confident, however, that he had succeeded in forestalling in-

⁸⁹Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, April 9, 1904.

⁹⁰Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Reed Smoot, April 9, 1904.

⁹¹Smith, Letter to Julius C. Burrows, April 15, 1904, copy in Smoot Papers. This letter summarizes why John Henry Smith, George Teasdale, Marriner Merrill, John W. Taylor, and Matthias F. Cowley, could not or would not testify.

definitely, and perhaps permanently, any investigative visit to Utah by the committee. This was a significant triumph for the defense.

However, Smoot's vacation to Utah posed other problems for the Senator. Leaving the concerns of the hearings in Washington, he now had to face, as head of the Republican Party in the state, the defiant Thomas Kearns. Kearns, with the aid of the anti-Mormon forces, had decided to bolt the Republican Party and organize a new party to be called the American Party.⁹² The impetus for this party came from the Smoot hearings, and its creation resurrected the old "Gentile" party mentality that sought to fuel the flames of anti-Mormon sentiment in Utah. Smoot and fellow Republicans were more concerned about the impact the American Party might have on the Republican Party's ability to win in November than on the havoc Kearns might wreak for the Church in Utah.⁹³

When Congress reconvened in October 1904, Smoot and Worthington agreed that pushing the case into January 1905 would give them more time to prepare and also let the rage of last spring's hearings subside. Burrows, however, would have nothing to do with this postponement and insisted that the committee reconvene some time in December. Having spent the summer going over the testimonies in the case, Worthington expressed his concern to Smoot about the miss-

⁹²Reuben Joseph Snow, "The American Party in Utah: A Study of Political Party Struggles during the Early Years of Statehood" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1964); see also, Kent Sheldon Larsen, "The Life of Thomas Kearns" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1964).

⁹³Many observers outside Utah saw Kearns's attempt to reorganize the Republican Party for what it was—jealousy and anger over what Smoot had accomplished for the state. F. C. Sharp, postal inspector in Denver, wrote to Smoot, "I trust the course pursued by these malcontents [i.e., Kearns and his followers] will not jeopardize the success of the party in Utah. But what they are after, of course, is your scalp. Poor little Tom, Reed got away with his apple and now T is yelling murder, etc." F. C. Sharp, Letter, September 14, 1904, Smoot Papers. Republican Jay Rollo Middlemiss of Rhode Island also expressed regret and concern over Kearns's bolt: "I regret exceedingly that Senator Kearns has shown such lack of political acumen, as to divide the Republican party in your state, by starting an anti-Mormon organization. There is only one thing to be done, and that now, namely, to bury his political aspirations for all time." Middlemiss, Letter to Smoot, October 1, 1904.

ing apostles. As long as Taylor and Cowley refused to appear, suspicions remained high that Smoot and the Church had something to hide.⁹⁴

Smoot was somewhat relieved, however, that several senators continued to express their support and assure him he would retain his seat. Carl Badger, who had remained in Washington throughout the summer recess, echoed similar feelings. In a letter to Heber J. Grant, Badger commented, "There is every reason to believe that the Senator will retain his seat. . . . The Senate is a very conservative body, and will be governed in large by the legal and constitutional phase of the question. . . . Just at present things look bright and hopeful and I feel hopeful."⁹⁵

However, ominous signs soon appeared to dispel the optimism. Smoot received information about the committee's strategy when the hearings resumed. Charles M. Owen planned to expose to the committee and to the world what occurred in Mormon temples. He had procured temple clothing to use for demonstrative purposes and claimed he could produce witnesses who would expose the Church's "endowment oath."⁹⁶

Through different friends, Smoot tried to get information about Burrows's subpoena list, since Burrows again refused to cooperate. However, Smoot did confirm that the next session would, in fact, focus on temple rites. The prosecution would argue that these rites seriously impaired his ability to function effectively as a senator—perhaps even precluding Smoot from taking his oath of office.⁹⁷

Inundated with questions about LDS theology and practice, Smoot was somewhat reassured when, in October 1904, the First

⁹⁴Carl Badger, Letter to Smoot, October 8, 1904. Smoot had commented plaintively to Callister six months earlier on April 8, 1904: "I do think they should come when wanted by this government of ours." To his attorney, the disconcerted Smoot expressed resignation with an undertone of bitterness: "If the brethren at home are satisfied with allowing the unfavorable impression to go out that will be created by the absentees not coming I suppose it is out of place for me to object any further." Smoot, Letter to Franklin S. Richards, April 12, 1904.

⁹⁵Badger, Letter to Heber J. Grant, October 6, 1904.

⁹⁶Owen announced that he would give a dress rehearsal in the committee room as a prelude to the real demonstration in the committee meetings. *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 1, 1904.

⁹⁷Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, December 3, 1904. According to

Presidency convened a special committee to prepare information on the topic.⁹⁸ They felt that such theological and doctrinal briefings were necessary to prevent Smoot or his counsel from committing any serious mistakes on doctrinal or policy matters. Just before the hearings reconvened in December, Smoot asked advice from President Smith on how best to proceed. Smith reminded him of the double problem he would have when questioned: "The first, of course, is your personal interest, that of retaining your seat. The second, is the interest of the Church in this, to see that it is set right in the record of the case on all points wherein questions have arisen, or may arise involving doctrinal points or in any wise affecting its honor, which may need explaining, amplifying or correcting."⁹⁹

The day before the hearings began, Charles M. Owen, in conjunction with several members of the local Protestant clergy, announced a press conference, held in the local Congregational Church, to expose the exotic doctrines of Mormonism—especially polygamy.¹⁰⁰

When the new session convened in December 1904, Smoot observed with dismay that the prosecution indeed planned to present damaging evidence about the extent to which doctrine and

Smoot, President Roosevelt had again tried to get Burrows to modify his anti-Smoot stance, but "that dirty old reprobate . . . has not changed in the least." On April 20, 1904, Smith had counseled Smoot to give up trying to change "that deluded old Senator" afflicted with "the anti-Mormon rabies." Smith took a philosophical long view which Smoot may not have felt able to afford: "I could give him a long list of fierce anti-Mormon monomaniacs who have spent their rage in furious attacks on Mormonism and now where are they? They may be sought for in vain on earth and in heaven!"

⁹⁸Members of this committee were Apostle Charles W. Penrose, Seventy B. H. Roberts, and educator James E. Talmage. Talmage, *Diary*, October 14, 1904, Talmage Papers, Perry Special Collections, explained that the committee's job was "to thoroughly examine all the evidence and references to Church doctrine and publications therein occurring. . . . The so-called investigation has developed into an arraignment of the Church. . . . Each member of the committee, is advised to lay aside all other work possible."

⁹⁹Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, Anthon H. Lund, Letter to Smoot, December [ca. 2–10], 1904.

¹⁰⁰Carl Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, December 10, 1904.

practice would prevent Smoot or any Mormon from acting independently. For men like Badger who were involved on a day-to-day basis with the hearings, the evidence that the Church was not sincere in its efforts to prevent ongoing and new cases of polygamy was troubling. To George Albert Smith, the thirty-four-year-old son of John Henry Smith who had been called as an apostle only in October 1903, Badger confided: "I wish I could have a long talk with you about some things: I will when I get home. Our record in this 'investigation' has not been entirely one of honor, and I look to you to help correct it."¹⁰¹ To his wife, Rose, he was even more candid: He had had "a long talk with James H. [Anderson] this afternoon on my old stand-by, polygamy. You can imagine how I feel to be told that the Church intends to perpetuate polygamy, if not by one means, then by another. That is the substance of what James H. has had to say. The principle and practice of polygamy is necessary to salvation, and it must be lived. Now, all this investigation is a farce, and the brethren are justified liars,—hard words but unvarnished, that is just the way it looks. . . . I feel very indignant."¹⁰²

THE YEAR 1905

After three weeks, the hearings were suspended for the Christmas recess, reconvening on January 11, 1905. The Washington press and the Senate Committee still lingered over Charles M. Owen's sensational December 1904 testimony in which he publicly exposed what appeared to be the Church's duplicity in denying the continuing practice of polygamy and its involvement in directing political activities in Utah and other states. Smoot felt he had made substantial progress on his defense in Salt Lake City—and, furthermore, had received strong evidence of President Smith's unwavering support. At a fast meeting in the Salt Lake Temple on New Year's Day, President Smith branded Smoot's opponents "in seathing [sic] terms of traitors. It was very solemn and impressive. No one who heard him can ever forget it. . . . He wept with emotion that could not be mistaken in spirit and fervency."¹⁰³ Church leaders admonished members not to incur suspicions or condemna-

¹⁰¹Badger, Letter to George Albert Smith, December 26, 1904.

¹⁰²Carl Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, December 21, 1904.

¹⁰³Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, January 1, 1905, Perry Special Collec-

tion of those out to attack the Church.¹⁰⁴

Smoot arrived in Washington feeling more optimistic. For the next seventeen days, forty-two witnesses testified for and against Smoot. The majority were defense witnesses called by Smoot's legal counsel to offset the testimonies given by witnesses for the prosecution. Smoot's plan was to sprinkle enough prominent Gentiles on the witness stand to dispel the notion that Mormons had a monolithic grip on Utah and surrounding regions. His first witness was former Idaho governor William McConnell, Borah's father-in-law, who testified that Mormons did not exert more pressure in Idaho politics than any other constituency supporting a particular cause, party, or politician. McConnell who, with Borah, had made political capital by catering to the Mormon vote, praised Mormons as law-abiding, productive citizens.¹⁰⁵

Dubois attacked McConnell's testimony and attempted to show that his interest in testifying was merely to maintain good relations with Mormons and that he had failed to discuss the real nature of Mormon political and polygamous practice. The press also attacked McConnell's testimony as being overly indulgent to the Mormons. Many of the press reports likely emanated from the *Salt Lake Tribune*, a source many Eastern papers used for their editorials and coverage of the case.¹⁰⁶

Judge J. W. N. Whitecotton was the next witness. As a resident of Provo and legal counsel for Smoot's bank, he testified that, in his experience, Mormons did not restrict the liberties of their people and

tions.

¹⁰⁴The First Presidency Letterbooks from November 1904 to February 1905 contain a number of letters asking Church members to make sure that legal problems were taken to the appropriate civil courts, not to Church courts. The First Presidency also gave letters to Smoot's attorneys affirming that the Church was not meddling in matters reserved for government officials or the courts.

¹⁰⁵*Smoot Hearings*, 2:491-536.

¹⁰⁶The *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 12, 1905, also blasted McConnell's testimony, stating that even if he knew anything detrimental about Smoot or the Church, he would be too "nice" to say anything. The Idaho legislature further discredited McConnell's testimony by sending a petition of protest to Burroughs, claiming that it was untrue. *Journal History*, January 13, 1905.

that he saw little difference in how Gentiles and Mormons conducted business. As a nonmember of the Church, he felt he was able to observe with greater objectivity the conditions and the attitudes of the Mormons in Utah. He testified that by and large the sentiment toward polygamy was waning and that Mormons did not elect polygamous persons to city, county, or state offices. In his view, Mormons treated their families in general and their wives in particular with more compassion and love than Gentiles often did.¹⁰⁷

The next array of witnesses¹⁰⁸ did not offer anything startling but in a similar vein lauded Mormons for their contributions to society. Many of the non-Mormons who testified argued that the Gentiles in Utah had found much to praise in many Mormons. Their cultural references were not as offensive as prosecution witnesses had made them out to be. It was difficult to determine how these testimonies affected committee members and the Senate. The press continued to search for and report the sensational but ignore the mundane to keep their readers interested.¹⁰⁹

One issue that emerged was the LDS influence on education in Utah. Allegations were made that the Church was making sectarian use of the public schools. Worthington put Amasa S. Condon, a non-Mormon, on the stand to refute the notion, and he presented a list of names, addresses, and affiliations of various schools and school

¹⁰⁷*Smoot Hearings*, 2:659–705. The *Tribune* also sought to refute Whitecotton's testimony by claiming that he perjured himself when he said that no polygamous people had been elected to office since statehood.

¹⁰⁸Among those who testified in this period were Hiram E. Booth, a practicing attorney in Utah; James E. Lynch; Hugh M. Dougall, postmaster from Springville, Utah; Alonzo Arthur Noon, justice of the peace in Provo; William Hatfield; James H. Brady; John P. Meakin, lecturer and dramatic reader from Salt Lake City; James A. Miner, justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory; William M. McCarty, judge and district attorney in Utah; and Richard W. Young, an engineer and son of Brigham Young.

¹⁰⁹The increasingly negative press caused concern in Salt Lake. Anthon H. Lund, Diary, January 18, 1905, noted a meeting of General Authorities that discussed ways to counteract the damage being done to the Church. John R. Winder thought it was perhaps too late to do anything, but the group's consensus was to leave no stone unturned trying to reverse the negative press image.

teachers in the Ogden area where he resided.¹¹⁰ Another witness, Charles De Moisy, commissioner of the Utah State Bureau of Statistics and also a non-Mormon, testified that Mormon polygamy and Church domination of society had waned substantially since he had lived in Utah, and he cited Smoot's hometown of Provo as an example.

On January 18 the defense put James E. Talmage on the stand. For six months, even before the committee's formation, Talmage had been compiling material in preparation for his discussion of Church tenets and practices, thus hoping to refute the testimony of prosecution witnesses.¹¹¹ Talmage spent two days under intense scrutiny discussing the Church's teachings and doctrines. Tayler was especially aggressive in his questioning. Talmage defended Church positions primarily by using material he had compiled over the years for his book *Articles of Faith*. He recorded in his diary that he felt humiliated by much of Tayler's interrogation and believed that the prosecution was maligning the Church by trying to misrepresent its doctrines and practices after he had sought to clarify them in a manner he judged as clear and forthright.¹¹²

Two days later on January 20, Smoot was unexpectedly called to the stand to testify on his behalf. He had expected to be called but had planned on having more warning. When witnesses scheduled to be called did not appear, Worthington told the committee that, in order to avoid wasting any time, he would call Smoot to the stand but would like a brief conference first as he had not had an opportunity to talk with Smoot about his testimony. This situation had committee members scurrying about to locate their absentee colleagues before Smoot's testimony began.

Smoot was well aware that his testimony was the crucial, if not the deciding, factor in his case. Remembering the instructions from the First Presidency concerning the dual obligation to protect himself and the Church, he needed to walk a fine line between offending neither his political enemies nor the Church. Smoot's testimony extended over three days and comprised 127 transcribed pages. If Smoot's responses to the questions could be characterized, the adjectives would be "cautious" and "evasive." The de-

¹¹⁰*Smoot Hearings*, 2:933–49.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 3:5–129.

¹¹²Talmage, *Diary*, January 16–18, 1905.

fense, realizing the necessity of distancing Smoot from the more sensational testimony given earlier by Church leaders, gave him every opportunity to present himself as a rational, intelligent individual lacking the fanaticism and fervor that had seemed to characterize many of the previous witnesses. Smoot projected himself as a new kind of Mormon—monogamous, business-oriented, civic-minded, conservative, and not given to the traditional *weltanschauung* that characterized the older generation of Latter-day Saints. He sought to deflect accusations of disloyalty, law breaking, aberrant social and political behavior, and political interference from the Church.

Smoot asserted that he had never been caught up in the intense fervor that others had for Church activities. Since testimony on the temple endowment oath was interpreted as a pledge giving allegiance to the Church first and country second, Smoot was given the chance to rebut these testimonies with his own experience. When asked about his own endowment in 1880, Smoot commented, “I did not particularly care about it. He [i.e., Smoot’s father Abraham O. Smoot] stated to me that it certainly would not hurt me if it did not do me any good, and that as my father, he would like very much to have me take the endowments before I crossed the water or went away from the United States.” (Eighteen-year-old Reed was accompanying his father to Hawaii.) Worthington continued, “Do you recall the ceremony or parts of the ceremony through which you went when you took your endowments?” Smoot replied, “I could not remember it if I wanted to.” Worthington responded, “You mean that you do not remember anything about it or that your recollection is vague?” Smoot stated, “I have not enough details to give the Committee any information.”¹¹³

Smoot defused the allegation of Church interference in politics by claiming that he had never asked anyone, nor was anyone ever asked by others, to support him because of his Church status. He elaborated on Talmage’s testimony that the Church would not dictate politics to an elected representative, apostle, layman, or Gentile, because, as Smoot said, “It is not their business.” Smoot forcefully stated he would always uphold the best interests of his country and that his Church affiliation would not counteract such a commitment.

¹¹³*Smoot Hearings*, 3:183–84.

Worthington asked whether Smoot was surprised by Joseph F. Smith's disclosure of his plural wives. Smoot replied, "I was surprised as to the number of children he had had born since the Manifesto, but I was not surprised at all that he had those wives." Worthington probed his knowledge of other General Authorities and their marital relations. Smoot responded, "Francis M. Lyman; I never have been in his house in my life. John Henry Smith; I was in his house once and that was the wife who lived across the road from the temple. I took dinner there one day with him. George Teasdale; I was in his home once, I think in 1892. I was never in the home of John W. Taylor in my life. I never was in the home of Matthias F. Cowley in my life. I never was in the home of Mariner W. Merrill in my life. I have been in the home of Rudger Clawson once in my life."¹¹⁴

Smoot could not recall polygamy or polygamous cohabitation being discussed in any Quorum of the Twelve meetings in which he was present. The hearings, he claimed, were the first time he had heard of Taylor's and Cowley's participation in post-Manifesto polygamy. To underscore Smoot's response, Worthington asked, "What evidence have you, except as it appears in this case, or what knowledge or information, except as it appears in the evidence of this case, that any Apostle or any member of the Presidency since the Manifesto has taken a plural wife or has married anybody else to a plural wife?" Smoot stated, "I have no evidence, only what I have heard since the beginning of this investigation."¹¹⁵

Worthington homed in on Taylor and Cowley. Did Smoot support their continuing status in the Twelve? Smoot answered that he had consulted with Smith, who had stated that a Church disciplinary hearing would be held before any action could be taken against them. In the case of such an investigation and evidence of their wrongdoing, what would be Smoot's position? Smoot volunteered that he understood an investigation was being conducted at that very moment. "If it is proven that they are guilty of violating that law of the Church, I shall not sustain them."¹¹⁶ He reiterated that he had not and would not countenance any man or woman living in polygamous cohabitation. The committee then recessed for lunch.

In the afternoon session, Smoot finessed Heber J. Grant's hasty

¹¹⁴Ibid., 189–90.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 192.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 195.

departure to Europe by suggesting that the warrant had arrived after Grant had been selected to preside over the European Mission. Worthington brought up Smoot's long-time friends Benjamin Cluff and George H. Brimhall. Cluff had served as Brigham Young Academy's third president, succeeded by Brimhall in 1904. Since both were polygamists and since Smoot was a member of the school's board of trustees, what did he know of their marital status? Smoot claimed that Cluff's plural marriage was only rumor, to which he had paid little attention. However, when firm evidence had emerged that Cluff had married Florence Reynolds, daughter of George Reynolds of the First Council of the Seventy, Smoot said the trustees were not aware of it because it occurred in Mexico but that Cluff had been dismissed.

Why, then, had Brimhall, another polygamist, become president? Smoot explained that Brimhall's first wife had been confined to an asylum for several years, that he had married the second wife in 1885 before the Manifesto, and that he was the most competent teacher the school ever had.

Taylor quizzed Smoot about his activity in the Church by asking, "You have been a Mormon all your life?" Smoot responded cautiously: "All my life, not a very active one, though, all my life, Mr. Tayler." Smoot felt that this admission prudently distanced him from the General Authorities who were more actively leaders at the core of the present problem of polygamy. Smoot then characterized his growth in the Church as gradual until he finally felt convinced of its divinity. Tayler's cross-examination made a point of trying to get Smoot to admit he knew about the post-Manifesto plural marriage contracted in 1896 between Abraham H. Cannon and Lillian Hamlin. Abraham, a son of George Q. Cannon, and already a polygamist, had been an apostle since 1889.

Smoot's most difficult moment in the cross-examination occurred during questioning about the nature of revelation:

Senator Overman. You believe then, that if God should make a revelation to Joseph [F.] Smith, and that was submitted to the Church in conference and accepted by the Church, it would be the law of the Church?

Senator Smoot. It would be a rule and law of the Church.

Senator Overman. You think the laws of God are superior to the laws of man?

Senator Smoot. I think the laws of God, upon the conscience of

man, are superior. I do, Mr. Senator.

Senator Overman. You think the laws of God, as revealed to Joseph [F.] Smith and accepted by the Church, would be binding upon the members of the Church superior to the laws of the land?

Senator Smoot. I think it would be binding upon Joseph [F.] Smith.

Senator Overman. Well?

Senator Smoot. And I think if the revelation were given to me, and I knew it was from God, that that law of God would be more binding upon me, possibly, than a law of the land, and I would have to do what God told me, if I were a Christian.

Senator Overman. I speak of a law—

Senator Smoot. But I want to say this, Mr. Senator. I would want to know and to know positively, that it was revelation from God.

Senator Overman. I was not speaking—

Senator Smoot. And then I would further state this, that if it conflicted with the law of my country in which I live, I would go to some other country where it would not conflict.¹¹⁷

After this exchange, a number of senators expressed curiosity about the relationship between revelation and the law of the land. Overman, Beveridge, Dubois, Foraker, and Burrows pushed for further clarification on when revelation becomes binding upon members of the Church. Smoot's answers, although at times inconsistent and confusing, seemed to satisfy his inquisitors, and the subject was concluded.¹¹⁸

The questioning then turned to the Church's involvement in Utah's business. Smoot argued that the majority of the banks and mercantile institutions were not Mormon-run or -operated. He stressed the Church's belief in separation of the temporal and the spiritual and insisted, despite previous testimony, that the Church did not attempt to force its views upon members' temporal affairs. Burrows goaded Smoot. Why, if Smoot claimed to always obey the law, did he not take action to have Smith punished for breaking the law, according to his own testimony? Smoot stated he had no intention of asking Smith anything on this issue and reiterated: "The Manifesto as it was voted upon by the people had no reference to unlawful cohabitation. Two years ago there was an interpretation put upon it by President Woodruff, and it was his advice and coun-

¹¹⁷*Smoot Hearings*, 3:248.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, 247–54.

sel to the people to adhere to that interpretation, stating that he was going to do it, and he advised all of the other people to do it.”¹¹⁹

In a final jab, Burrows asked, “And you intend to retain your relationship and Apostolic position and sustain the president in his crimes?” Smoot responded, “I do not sustain any man in the commission of a crime.” To which Burrows responded, “You sustained him in living in polygamous cohabitation?” Smoot retorted, “I have not said that.” Burrows asked, “Did you not sustain him in October last?” Smoot responded, “I sustain him as President of the Church.” With that heated exchange, the committee recessed.

Talmage, who was still in Washington under subpoena, reflected in his diary on Smoot’s performance. He thought Smoot had had the greatest problem with questions on doctrine and theology. “It is the general feeling that Bro. Smoot did not his case much good by his own testimony. . . . This we all regret, because in view of the testimony long ago . . . that the First Presidency and Twelve are ‘prophets, seers, and revelators,’ any statement from one of these officials on doctrinal points would appear to the committee in the nature of an authoritative exposition so that any variation expressed by a layman would be of little worth to them except to show conflict of opinion and confusion in evidence.” Talmage also concluded that the committee meetings were curtailed because of Smoot’s ill health.¹²⁰

By January 28, the prosecution and defense had made their concluding statements to the committee, and uncertainty now set in. Neither side seemed to have a clear sense about how the case would be decided. Carl Badger wrote to E. H. Callister that, judg-

¹¹⁹Ibid., 287. Smoot was here referring to the testimony of Wilford Woodruff before the master in chancery in October 1891, a prerequisite to returning the Church’s escheated property.

¹²⁰Talmage, *Diary*, January 20, 1905. Smoot suffered from nervousness and indigestion throughout the month. Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 65. Six days later, however, Talmage spent two pages analyzing the Smoot hearing and what it meant: “Reed Smoot has been virtuely [sic] lost sight of in the case; it is the Church that is assailed.” He felt saddened over the many apostates who testified falsely about its doctrines and practices and was “not so confident as to the outcome” as Smoot’s attorneys. Ibid., January 26, 1905.

ing from rumor, all of the Democrats would vote to unseat Smoot, possibly joined by Republicans Burrows and McComas. He counted noses: "This is a guess: Foraker, Beveridge, Knox, Dillingham, Dupew, and Hopkins for the Senator; Burrows, Dubois, Pettus, McComas against the Senator; Bailey, Overman, and Clark doubtful, with adverse leanings. The Senator has had a severe attack of indigestion, due, no doubt, to the worry incident to the hearings, but he is much better."¹²¹

On February 7, Smoot wrote a graphic description of his health to Smith. He had been ill for over a month, found it impossible to keep food down, had lost substantial weight, and "could not sleep at nights. Especially was this the case the last week of the hearings and the day that I went on the witness stand I could hardly hold my head up. I am thankful that I am feeling better." Smoot also admitted that the feeling against the Church had never been stronger or more bitter. Franklin S. Richards saw things the same way, telling Smoot he could "never remember the time when the feeling was so strong and so universally opposed to the church as at the present time." The pervasive feeling was that the Church could not be trusted for it had violated its promises on polygamy. Attempts at rebuttal were immediately countered by the Taylor-Cowley case.¹²²

Smoot continued by confiding his concerns to Smith. First, he had heard that the opposition had hired several detectives to seek evidence of new polygamous marriages in Utah on the basis that, if the hearings did not conclude this session, they could demand that the case be reopened and send a subcommittee to visit Utah.¹²³ Smoot also expressed concern about Kearns's recent attempts¹²⁴ to "create sentiment against us, and the position taken by him is to beg the Senators to save the Gentiles, to protect them from the Mormon hierarchy,

¹²¹Badger, Letter to E. H. Callister, February 6, 1905.

¹²²Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, February 7, 1905.

¹²³*Ibid.* Smoot tactfully warned Smith that "I rather think it would be a good thing, if there are any [polygamy] cases not yet reported, that they be notified and be on their guard."

¹²⁴Kearns, having recently lost his seat to George Sutherland, had spoken on the Senate floor on February 28. He told the other senators that he had won his seat in 1900 because of Lorenzo Snow's support but now was defeated by the same Church power. He importuned the Senate to require that Utah and the Mormons live within the law and cease to exercise unright-

to give them a chance to live in Utah, for if the Mormon Church wins in this fight, no gentile in the state of Utah, unless he bows to the Mormon Church, will ever have any liberty while he lives in the state of Utah.”¹²⁵

Smoot’s second concern dealt with the charges being made against him and the Church almost daily, especially by Dubois. Smoot wanted to respond to these charges, but his attorneys, including Franklin S. Richards, “all emphatically sat down on the proposition and told me that it would be very dangerous indeed to do so.”¹²⁶ This dilemma plagued Smoot throughout the hearings. Should he defend himself or not? Would such a defense have beneficial effects or backfire? To compound the problem, he felt that friends and supportive colleagues were too passive while his enemies had the fervor of a holy war. Smoot felt trapped—helpless and uncertain.

Despite these frustrations and concerns, Smoot’s friend, Senator Redfield Proctor, delivered some good news. Nosing around among some of the committee members and fellow senators on the Republican side of the aisle, Proctor formed the opinion that the majority of the Republican Senators were friendly toward Smoot. Burrows and McComas might vote against him, but the other senators would discount their votes. Proctor also complimented Smoot “on my testimony and on my course from the time I entered the Senate until today. Stated I had commanded the respect of men who had bitterly opposed everything Mormon.”¹²⁷

As the time approached for a decision on whether to continue

teous dominion over that state. Larsen, “Life of Thomas Kearns,” 110–13; *Journal History*, March 7, 1905.

¹²⁵Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, February 7, 1905.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*

¹²⁷Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, February 10, 1905. After receiving Proctor’s information, Smoot heard concerns from Senator McComas about the Church’s continued control over business and political interests. When Smoot attempted to reassure him, McComas frankly told Smoot that his case was weak because of “new polygamy cases of the Apostles, Tanner[,] Taylor[,] Cowley[,] and Teasdale refusing to come as witnesses and refusal of the Church to produce the records of temple marriage. He remarked as he was leaving that—it was a lucky thing for the Church that I was sent here as Senator for I was liked by both Democrats and Republicans and for that reason he did not expect I would be unseated. From his remark, I believe it would be understood from the beginning that the question of

the hearings or call for a vote, Smoot prepared himself for both possibilities. The committee voted to carry the hearings over to the fall. Smoot took precautions to ensure that no untoward events occurred to increase negative sentiment over the summer. His most immediate concern was the continuing status of Apostles Cowley and Taylor. For reasons that are perhaps clearest in retrospect, Smoot shunned April conference, citing important business commitments on the West Coast. Both Cowley or Taylor were sustained in their offices with the other apostles, but Smoot did not have to make the difficult decision about whether to sustain, abstain, or vote against them.

Smoot's secretary, Carl Badger, who was still in Washington in April, confided to his wife, Rose, that the continued sustaining of Taylor and Cowley would have a negative effect on Smoot's case. He hoped that Congress would call an extra session on October 1, thereby keeping Smoot out of Salt Lake City during another conference. "If nothing is done at October conference, I would not be in Senator Smoot's shoes for one million cold cash—to be candid, I would not now," he wrote. "Even the Washington Post has begun to turn against us. Two years ago every paper in Washington was friendly, or fair, now they are all opposed or suspicious. The situation is of our own making and that should restrain us from tears of denunciation." Badger concluded: "There is no honorable defense from the contempt and indignation we seem bent upon bringing down upon ourselves."¹²⁸

The sensitive situation with the recalcitrant apostles was not the only negative aspect of April general conference. Apostle Hyrum Mack Smith, son of Church President Joseph F. Smith, stated in his conference address that, since the Mormon people had stood by President Roosevelt in the last election, it was now his turn to stand by them. This talk placed Roosevelt in a seemingly impossible situation. Although Roosevelt was sympathetic to Smoot, he could not afford to become aligned with Mormon leaders who were violating the laws on polygamy. Badger analyzed the fallout of Smith's remarks for the Church: "It compromises the President. The President can deal us a stunning blow and Hyrum almost asked him to do it. If Hyrum thinks that the President has the least sympathy for Taylor and Cowley, he is

whether a Mormon would be allowed a seat in the Senate would be investigated."

¹²⁸Carl Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, April 9, 1905.

self deluded. . . . And if Hyrum attempts to use the name of the President, he invites a rebuke that will shatter us. This is a case where we are in the wrong.”¹²⁹

Hyrum Mack Smith’s talk coincided with a series of meetings that Mrs. Fred Dubois held with various women’s associations to stir up support for an anti-Mormon plank in their platforms. According to Badger, “Mrs. Dubois has become an agitator and is a considerable factor in the movement against us. She will go with Miss [Alice] Roosevelt to the Philippines this summer, and will likely attempt to influence the President through his daughter.”¹³⁰ The Daughters of the American Revolution, meeting in Washington, D.C., in April, attacked polygamists and wanted their organization to adopt an anti-polygamy resolution.¹³¹ At the same time, Frank J. Cannon was fomenting more criticism of Church leaders, trumpeting their hypocrisy and duplicity.¹³²

Smoot’s return to Utah for the summer caught him unprepared for the political fight brewing there. Although he anticipated problems with Kearns and his new American Party in the 1905 elections, he did not expect the popularity which resulted in a Republican defeat and an American Party victory.¹³³ When this news reached the Eastern press, rumors circulated that Smoot was finished as both sen-

¹²⁹Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, April 15, 1905. Badger hoped that the Brethren would have Hyrum submit his October conference talk to them before being allowed to deliver it, but this apparently did not occur.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*

¹³¹*Journal History*, April 19, 1905.

¹³²Cannon’s ability to work against his erstwhile friends was surprising to many, given what should have been debilitating bouts with alcoholism. Heber J. Grant wrote Smoot on April 25, 1905: “I note that Frank J is in Washington ‘drunk as usual.’ His vitality is something marvelous considering the amount of dissipation that he has done, it is remarkable that he is still with us.” Either reports of Cannon’s alcoholism were exaggerated or he managed his illness better than other alcoholics. Rumors circulated in late April that Cannon would be replaced as editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune* and that an organizational shake-up was imminent—perhaps a hint of a policy change. However, the rumor proved groundless. Cannon had a five-week leave of absence, then returned to the task of exposing the “dishonesty” of the Church and its leaders. *Journal History*, April 25 and 30, 1905.

¹³³Snow, “American Party in Utah”; and Thomas G. Alexander and

ator and leader of his party in Utah.¹³⁴ Some commentators reasoned that, if an anti-Mormon political party could win an election in Smoot's Republican stronghold, what did this say about political conditions there? More ominous was the implication that the Republican loss signified a loss of faith in Smoot's political career. The corollary followed that the American Party represented the political persuasion of more Utahns than the Republican party—or so it seemed to the press.

Badger wrote to Smoot from Washington, D.C., acknowledging the American Party's victory, and informed Smoot, "I feel very much concerned about your health and hope that you will take care of yourself. You have a hard winter before you and should prepare for it."¹³⁵ Badger knew the American Party victory damaged Smoot in Washington: "The effect of the election on the Senator's case is problematic. I do not think for a moment that he will be unseated, it is however a different thing to come to Washington with a victory at your heels than to come with a defeat around your neck; and these things, light as they may seem, influence the situation." Badger understood that, besides the defeat, "there are some hard feelings growing out of the contest, even between our people; and, if I can judge from the rumors that find echo in the press, there are some hard feelings between the Senator and Apostle Penrose and perhaps some other of the Apostles."¹³⁶

In addition to the American Party victory, Smoot and the Church suffered from the problem of an unsympathetic press. Outside of the Church-owned *Deseret News*, an avowedly partisan Church organ, there was little objective reporting on Smoot or the Church. Although the *News* was the official Church organ, Smoot was irritated with its continued passive coverage of his case. For Smoot, the major problem was that the editor of the *News*, Charles W. Penrose, was not as actively supportive of him as Smoot wished. The *News* was not anti-Smoot, but it did not take hard stands or promote his cause

James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Company, 1984), 140–42.

¹³⁴Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 69.

¹³⁵Carl Badger, Letter to Smoot, November 10, 1905.

¹³⁶Badger, Letter to unidentified correspondent, November 17, 1905.

with the same fervor that the *Tribune* exerted to destroy him.¹³⁷ Smoot complained to Joseph F. Smith that his name was too infrequently mentioned and that, unless the hearings had some extraordinary disclosure, the *News* left it unsaid or relegated it to the back pages.¹³⁸ While the *Tribune* was sending a copies of its daily diatribes to the senators on the committee, the *News* did not similarly put forward its defenses of Smoot.¹³⁹

In fact, ever since Smoot's election in 1902, the *Deseret News* was too nonpartisan for Smoot's liking. The paper never seemed to be there when he needed its support. During Smoot's first year in Washington, James Anderson pointed out that the *News* seemed slanted toward the Democratic side: "Penrose is awfully cantankerous. . . . It is worse to have an open mouth in a newspaper than in a pulpit, and bad in either."¹⁴⁰ Smoot found it exasperating, while in Washington, to seldom see the *News* correspondent assigned to cover the hearings. Releases were crucial to counteract the opposition's propaganda. On one occasion, Smoot sarcastically told a *Deseret News* correspondent, "If he did not consider it too much of a sacrifice, I would very much like to see him before the adjournment."¹⁴¹ At a time when Smoot needed all the support he could get, Penrose appeared more intent on supporting Democratic posi-

¹³⁷Catherine Smoot, "Role of the Newspaper in the Reed Smoot Investigation: 1903-1907" (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1964), 41-50; see also Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 9, 1904. Penrose had been called as an apostle in July 1904 and was politically a staunch Democrat. He would continue to be a thorn in Smoot's side throughout his life.

¹³⁸Smoot attributed the American Party's victory over the Republicans in the fall elections to "the action of the *Deseret News*, as official organ of the Church, which caused a stampede of Republican Mormons to the Democratic ticket and of Republican Gentiles to the American ticket. The Gentiles interpreted the action of the *Deseret News* to be an overt attempt at Church dictation in politics. If it goes uncorrected, the idea of that dictation will soon become, in their minds, and in the minds of non-Mormons generally, a fixed fact, to the serious injury of the Church interests." Letter to Joseph F. Smith, November 17, 1905.

¹³⁹Catherine Smoot, "Role of the Newspaper," 48.

¹⁴⁰James Anderson, Letter to Reed Smoot, December 30, 1903.

¹⁴¹Smoot quoting his remarks in letter to Horace G. Whitney, February 27, 1904.

tions. In Smoot's eyes, it was not a matter of partisan politics but of Church survival. Since his cause was now the Church's cause, the Church paper should give unqualified support to aid in his bid to retain his seat.

Smoot and some members of the Church hierarchy, most significantly Joseph F. Smith, therefore saw the necessity of an openly partisan newspaper. Through private subscriptions and some Church money, they founded the *Intermountain Republican* in February 1906. Penrose made a point of attacking the first issue, causing Smoot to lament to one of the new paper's promoters, "We have a hard enough time without the *News* being against us."¹⁴²

This continuing problem with the *Deseret News*, by Smoot's own admission, caused him many a sleepless night. In a letter to his wife, he confided, "I never left feeling more depressed. I could not get over the feeling that I had been betrayed and too by the ones that should have been my friends."¹⁴³ Five days later, he continued, "I could not help but reflect upon the treatment I had received at the hands of Penrose through the *Deseret News*. At times I felt humiliated, and at other times I felt indignant. Perhaps it is a good thing that I am away and do not have to meet him. I know I should not feel this way but it is impossible for me to do otherwise."¹⁴⁴

The *Salt Lake Tribune* had been pro-Republican under Kearns and initially a Smoot supporter in 1902. But with the rupture of the party with Kearns's organization of the American Party, the paper became not only critical of Mormon interests but unsupportive of the

¹⁴²Smoot, Letter to E. H. Callister, February 19, 1906. After Penrose's release from the *Deseret News*, problems still persisted for the Republican Party. This especially irritated Smoot during the presidency of Woodrow Wilson as the paper commented favorably on just about everything Wilson did. A decade later, Smoot wrote to Charles W. Nibley, "I don't wish to be considered a kicker, but I believe that the policy of the *Deseret News* in approving of everything done by President Wilson, and as many people believe unduly slobbering over him, is uncalled for and will have to be met in every part of the state in the next presidential campaign." Letter, October 26, 1915.

¹⁴³Smoot, Letter to Allie Smoot, November 24, 1905.

¹⁴⁴Smoot, Letter to Allie Smoot, November 29, 1905.

Utah Republican Party under Smoot's leadership.¹⁴⁵ The only other newspaper of any consequence was the Democratic *Salt Lake Herald* owned by Montana mining magnate William A. Clark.¹⁴⁶ Smoot and his supporters therefore felt justified in establishing the *Intermountain Republican* to provide a voice for Smoot's party in Utah. By the spring of 1906, the paper was well underway, promoting Smoot and the party as often as possible.¹⁴⁷

More protests appeared in the nation's capital by the fall of 1905. The National Congress of Mothers, claiming more than 2 million women, demanded that the Senate unseat Reed Smoot. Part of its program included mailing thousands of anti-Mormon documents.¹⁴⁸ Smoot, upon returning to Washington, found hundreds of letters asking a variety of questions about positions raised in his case. The most disturbing was the frequent inquiry on whether he would resign. Unknown to Smoot, a rumor circulated in the Eastern papers that, given all the setbacks incurred over the last six months of the hearings, he was considering resigning. It also irked Smoot that his private correspondence to leaders in Salt Lake apparently leaked out, damaging his creditability.¹⁴⁹

Smoot received new information from J. A. Mathews, corre-

¹⁴⁵Smoot got some positive news about the *Tribune* after he arrived in Washington, D.C., when J. A. Mathews, its correspondent, called on him at Smoot's hotel "and expressed to me his utter disgust at the fight the Tribune was making and wanted me to understand that he did not intend to send anything from here to the Tribune that would reflect on me in the least, for he wished to impress me with the fact that he was still my friend. Mr. Mathews gave me considerable information with the understanding that it should be kept strictly private." Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, November 24, 1905.

¹⁴⁶Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 28–29.

¹⁴⁷Lund, Diary, October 27, 1905. A few years later, Smoot and Church officials bought out Senator Clark's controlling interest in the *Salt Lake Herald* and merged the two as the *Herald-Republican*.

¹⁴⁸Journal History, October 27 and 28, 1905.

¹⁴⁹Badger reported to an unidentified correspondent the *Washington Post's* speculation that Smoot might resign, given his candidate's defeat in the city election. Letter, November 17, 1905, Badger Papers; see also *Deseret News*, November 24, 1905. Smoot, in fact, offered four times to resign if Joseph F. Smith and/or the First Presidency wished it: Smoot, Letters to Jo-

spondent for the *Salt Lake Tribune*, that Burrows planned to reopen the case after the first of the year based on “a mass of additional evidence to be presented.” This evidence dealt primarily with the last city election in Salt Lake and sought to prove that the Church was heavily involved in political meddling. Burrows informed Mathews that certain railroad interests in Utah thought Smoot’s defeat might prove best for the state and were, according to Smoot, requesting Eastern “firms to use their influence with the Senators to have them vote against me.”¹⁵⁰

Mathews, Smoot’s temporary mole, notified him that the new editor of the *Tribune* hired to replace Joseph Lippman, Frank I. Sefrit, intended to come to Washington and “assist in the fight against me and perhaps remain here during the hearing of the case and report it to the Tribune. He also says that Frank Cannon [currently chief editorial writer] is expected here. . . . Please keep this information strictly confidential for I expect to be able to keep pretty well posted from this source.”¹⁵¹ Unfortunately, for Smoot, Mathews soon left the *Tribune* to study law.

As the hearings reconvened, it was difficult to determine how senators felt after the recent party defeat in Utah. To Smoot’s disappointment, many raised concerns about the elections. Since arriving in Washington, Smoot had unsuccessfully tried to obtain an audience with President Roosevelt to quell possible fears concerning the election’s effect on the Republican Party in Utah. Smoot realized that Roosevelt was the key to winning the contest for his seat: “I am in hopes that he will be as friendly as ever, for without his friendship I am positive that it is impossible for me to win out.”¹⁵²

Smoot was aware of Roosevelt’s concern with the continuing Taylor-Cowley problem and felt that Roosevelt expected an answer on

seph F. Smith, February 5, 1904, November 27, December 15, 1905, and January 21, 1906. The third offer included also resigning from the apostleship, if it was preferable to the resignations of Taylor and Cowley: “Brethren, I assure you that if my resignation from both places would settle the difficulty it would not take me long to have it settled.” Joseph F. Smith declined all four offers.

¹⁵⁰Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, November 24, 1905.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*

¹⁵²*Ibid.* Also on November 24, 1905, Smoot sent a telegram to the First Presidency through George F. Gibbs, after obtaining an interview with

the Church's position. In a November 24 telegram to the First Presidency, Smoot subtly pressed: "Shall I ask President Roosevelt's advice as to the best time to make the announcement of the resignations and how?" The Taylor-Cowley affair occupied center stage at the hearings. Friends and enemies alike asked when the Church would deal with the two renegade apostles. For some time, both sides realized the necessity of taking a step to resolve the status of these two men.

Smoot took this first step at the October 1905 semi-annual general conference by publicly refusing to sustain Cowley and Taylor as members of the Quorum of the Twelve.¹⁵³ The previous January, Smoot had told the committee that he would not sustain Taylor and Cowley if it were proved that they were guilty of promoting and entering into new plural marriages.¹⁵⁴ After the Second Manifesto in April 1904, Taylor's and Cowley's positions became increasingly precarious. Their stubborn stand could no longer be tolerated. Francis Lyman wrote to Taylor and other members of the Twelve that the rule on plural marriages "will be strictly enforced against each and every person who shall be found guilty of offense against the rule."¹⁵⁵ By the end of October 1905, Francis M. Lyman formally requested Taylor's and Cowley's resignations.

On October 28, 1905, Taylor submitted the requested resignation:

I hereby tender my resignation as a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, as it is clear to me that I have been out of harmony with you on some very important matters which have apparently brought reproach upon the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I wish to state in the first place that I have not violated the laws of the United States nor of the state of Utah in relation to polygamous or plural marriages. Also that the authorities of the Church have not directed or authorized me to do so or to do anything contrary to the rules of the Church as adopted by that body. But I find that I have been out of harmony with the said authorities as to the scope and

Roosevelt. He emphasized his concern over the election results.

¹⁵³The best discussion of this event is Victor W. Jorgensen and B. Carmon Hardy, "The Taylor-Cowley Affair and the Watershed of Mormon History," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1980): 4-36.

¹⁵⁴*Smoot Hearings*, 3:194-95.

¹⁵⁵Lyman, Letter to Taylor, May 3, 1904, quoted in Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 329.

meaning of the Manifesto issued by President Wilford Woodruff . . . and also as to the meaning of the last clause of the petition for amnesty to President Benjamin Harrison in Dec. 1891. I have always believed that the government of the United States had jurisdiction only within its own boundaries and that—the term “laws of the land” in the Manifesto meant merely the laws of the United States. . . . I acknowledge that I received a request from President Joseph F. Smith by letter, to appear as a witness in the Reed Smoot case . . . but I declined to do so because, while I recognized his right to direct me in Church affairs, I did not think his authority extended to civil affairs to the extent that I would expose my family concerns and be questioned and held up to public ignominy as some of my brethren were before that body, and I still hold the same view on that matter. In as much as I have not been in harmony with my brethren on these subjects and I have been called into question concerning them, I now submit myself to their discipline and to save further controversy tender this my resignation and hope for such clemency in my case as they may deem right and just—and merciful.¹⁵⁶

Cowley’s letter arrived at the office of the Council of the Twelve the next day:

I regret very much that I have done anything that has caused a lack of confidence in me, or that has occasioned the suspicion that the authorit[ies] of the Church have been untrue to their declarations concerning plural marriages since the Manifesto of 1890. I assert emphatically that the Presidency of the church have not counselled or advised me to enter into plural marriages since that date. Also that I have not done so in violation of the laws of the United States or the state of Utah. There are some views in relation to these matters in which I have been out of harmony with the quorum and First Presidency but I have not intentionally violated any rule of the church as I understood the matter. I did not go to Washington as a witness in the Smoot case as requested by President Smith, as I considered the investigation rather as to the affairs of the church than an inquiry into the qualifications of the Senator. And further I looked upon any private affairs as my own and not for the public. For my acts I am responsible and not the church nor its President. I have been seriously out of harmony with my quorum and wishing to bear my own burdens I hereby tender my resignation as a member of the Council of the Twelve

¹⁵⁶John W. Taylor, Letter to the Council of the Twelve, October 28, 1905, copy in Smoot Papers.

Apostles, and cast myself upon the forebearances and mercy of my brethren.¹⁵⁷

On December 6, Smoot felt that the resignations, although an important sign of the Church's good faith, would not be decisive in securing his seat and telegraphed: "If you decide to use resignations do not make them public until I ask advice as to the best time."¹⁵⁸ Apparently Smoot consulted his attorneys, Roosevelt, and other friendly Republican Senators, sending a cipher telegram two days later: "Public notice of resignations will not favorabl[y] affect my case. Time has expired for that—but should be made at once immediately case is decided. Should agree to policy at once to be used with friends to effect report and let friends know that they will have some ground to stand on, and that you are honest in the matter. Drastic legislation will follow if not done. Even our friends remark if the President of the Mormon Church will not stop it, we will."¹⁵⁹ Gibbs passed on the result of the First Presidency's deliberations: "When you become convinced that action should not be delayed any longer, let us know . . . and I feel to say to you . . . that if you will cast aside forever all thought of making a sacrifice of zoanthropia [code name for Taylor and] whimper [code name for Cowley] you will begin to see your way brighten, for such a thing cannot be done simply in the hope of avoiding drastic legislation, nor for the purpose of convincing friends that ziamet [code name for Joseph F. Smith] is honest."¹⁶⁰

Before the holiday recess, Smoot and Utah's other senator,

¹⁵⁷Matthias W. Cowley, Letter to Council of the Twelve, October 29, 1905, copy in Smoot Papers.

¹⁵⁸Reed Smoot, Telegram to Joseph F. Smith through George F. Gibbs, December 6, 1905.

¹⁵⁹Smoot, Telegram to Gibbs, December 8, 1905.

¹⁶⁰Gibbs, Letter to Smoot, December 9, 1905. Francis M. Lyman, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, wrote to Smoot December 15, 1905: "You may feel at perfect liberty to use the resignations you referred to in your telegrams and letters when you get to the point where you need to use them. They were not given for your benefit but for the relief of the Church, and for that purpose you may need to use them and need not hesitate." There is, of course, no way of knowing whether the resignations would have been kept secret if circumstances had changed.

George Sutherland,¹⁶¹ met with President Roosevelt and learned he was “just as willing to help me as ever. He thinks it [the case] ought to be settled and is going to speak to a number of Senators on the Committee and ask them to see that it is—at as early a date as possible.”¹⁶² Asked for a preference to replace McComas on the committee, Smoot requested Jonathan P. Dolliver.¹⁶³ Smoot received unpleasant news, which Sutherland learned confidentially, that Senator Hale of Maine was at the time opposed to Smoot and would fight against his retaining his seat.¹⁶⁴ Hale was one of the more respected senators in Washington, and his position could easily influence the balance of the undecided senators.

THE YEAR 1906

January 1906 was as inauspicious for Smoot as the previous January had been. After the hearings had concluded in the spring, Smoot and those close to him had felt some confidence that matters were in check and that the hearings would soon be completed. But Burrows, with the help of Charles Owen and others, planned to exploit the unresolved problem of the temple endowment oath of loyalty. They intended to show that this oath precluded Smoot from faithfully executing his oath as a U.S. Senator.¹⁶⁵

Smoot expressed his fears to Joseph F. Smith, “I am sorry to

¹⁶¹See Michael Harold Paulos, “Senator George Sutherland: Reed Smoot’s Defender,” for an analysis of Sutherland’s role in Smoot’s defense and particularly his Senate speech in January 1907.

¹⁶²Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, December 12, 1905.

¹⁶³Carl Badger attributed Dolliver’s selection to “a bit of carelessness on the Senator’s part. He had judged from reports and from a conversation had with Senator Dolliver some time ago that the latter was favorable. . . . It looks bad.” Carl Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, December 15, 1905. In a letter to his mother, Badger claimed that Dolliver’s position was influenced by “that well known scoundrel, Charles Mostyn Owen,” and expressed hopes that Dolliver “is favorable to the Senator.” Carl Badger, Letter to mother, December 20, 1905.

¹⁶⁴Badger, Letter to his family, December 24, 1905, opined: “It would require only the opposition of three or four leaders of the Senate to make it absolutely certain that the Senator would be unseated.”

¹⁶⁵Smoot was uncertain how the opposition would exploit the endowment oath but was braced for “strong, influential men” who would be

report that things do not look very bright at the present time, but on the contrary I think they are very doubtful." Smoot had asked Sutherland to canvass as many senators as possible to determine their current stance on the case, but many were unwilling to discuss it. Apparently over the Christmas recess, tremendous pressures had been brought to bear on many senators to take a hard line against Smoot.¹⁶⁶ The senator told Joseph F. Smith that many senators now had easy excuses to change their attitude toward him; and Salt Lake City's municipal elections, which in November had seen the triumph of the American Party, provided an additional excuse for Smoot's opponents. Ringleaders like Dubois and Burrows could effectively turn the tide against him as each new convert to their cause made the full Senate's eventual vote increasingly uncertain.¹⁶⁷

January 25 was tentatively set for reopening the hearings, but Burrows again refused to tell Worthington or Smoot who the witnesses were and the topics on which they would testify. From the usually cooperative Dillingham, Smoot learned that Burrows

subpoenaed to testify to its actual content. He speculated that they would be "apostates" like Henry W. Lawrence and Abraham F. Doremus. "I am at a loss to know what can be done if they decide to do this," he confessed, "for I do not know where to get apostates to testify any stronger or as strong as the four we had here before. Perhaps you can think of some; if so, advise me as soon as possible." Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 8, 1906. Smoot was genuinely in a double-bind since members in good standing would naturally refuse to disclose details of the endowment ceremony, and members not in good standing who also felt friendly to Smoot were doubtless in short supply.

¹⁶⁶Badger speculated to Rose, "I may be home sooner than we imagined. Things do not look at all well here for the Senator." The *Washington Post* had run a long article describing Burrows's and Bailey's tactics to unseat Smoot. Bailey wanted expulsion (requiring a two-thirds vote) while Burrows wanted exclusion (which required only a majority). Badger thought that Smoot might have to resign "if he has a large number of votes registered against him; he will be without the respect of even those who voted for him to retain his seat, if he does." Sympathetically, he added, "I feel very sorry for the Senator: he has had a hard time, and will have to go through fire in the next few months." Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, January 4, 1906.

¹⁶⁷Smoot, Letter to Smith, January 8, 1906.

would definitely reopen the case, thought Tayler was incompetent for not pressing harder on sensitive issues (the most important being the endowment oath), and speculated that John G. Carlisle would take over the prosecution. Dillingham also reported that the committee had a witness “who would give the ceremony correctly; that this witness was a professor in one of the church schools, a prominent man, well educated, and of good character.” The only good news was that Burrows planned to introduce “only . . . two or three witnesses.”¹⁶⁸

Dillingham swore Smoot to secrecy about this damaging witness—Walter Wolfe—for, if it got out, the leak could be traced to Dillingham. Smoot passed on to Smith Dillingham’s apparently reasonable question:

Why did not the Church appoint someone in whom they have complete confidence, to come and give the endowment ceremony and thus do away with the mystery and misgivings in relation to this matter. He said: “If there is nothing but an obligation as you say it is, I cannot understand why the Church should object to stating its exact nature; especially when the loyalty of the Church and its members is at stake, and perhaps their liberties are endangered.” I could only say that the ceremony was sacred, that it referred to things spiritual only, and was secret; and called his attention to the Masonic ceremony, which is secret and which no Mason would divulge; and stated that the Mormon people felt themselves under even stronger obligations not to reveal the endowment ceremony.¹⁶⁹

Smoot asked the First Presidency to quietly investigate Wolfe’s background and history. Smoot remembered only that he had taught at the Brigham Young Academy in the 1890s. But Badger gloomily predicted that Wolfe, who reportedly had “a marvelous memory” would detail the endowment ceremony and also reveal the extent of polygamy in the Mormon colonies.¹⁷⁰ Such testimony could be devastating, unless Wolfe could be discredited.¹⁷¹

Given this indication of the case against him, Smoot’s friends exerted pressure to have someone from Church headquarters dis-

¹⁶⁸Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 9, 1906.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰Carl Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, January 18, 1906.

¹⁷¹Franklin S. Richards, according to Anthon H. Lund, Diary, January 23, 1906, was concentrating on evidence with which to attack Wolfe’s

cuss the temple endowment ceremony to the committee's satisfaction. Senator Charles Faulkner (R-West Virginia) asked if Joseph Rawlings, a former senator from Utah could testify, since he would be as creditable a witness as one could find. Smoot was not sure, however, that Rawlings had ever been endowed. He agreed that testimony from a trusted Church member correcting inaccuracies by prosecution witnesses was desirable, but the problem was not his to decide or resolve, even though he would bear the brunt of the results.

Stricken by feelings of helplessness, Smoot reached the nadir of his senatorial and apostolic career. The following letter to Joseph F. Smith is the most poignant Smoot wrote during the hearings. He pled for help, both human and divine, and for forgiveness and charity from those who still opposed him:

I would also like to suggest that the General Authorities of the church, meaning the Presidency, Apostles, First Presidents of Seventy, Patriarch, and Bishopric meet a day in the near future for fasting and prayer. I am sure it can do no harm and I fully believe it will do some good. From the letters I receive from different parts of the state I am sure some of the brethren would not care to pray for me; but I would like you to impress upon them the fact that it is not me that is in danger, but the church, and they certainly can pray for it. If they think it is my ambition that has brought this trouble upon the church, I think they ought to have charity enough to ask God to forgive me. You can tell them I am perfectly willing if I am successful in retaining my seat, which means a triumph for the church as much as or more than for me, to resign from the Senate and if it is desired by the Presidency will resign from the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. Pray to God to save the faith of our people; to save the church property and prevent another crusade against our people.¹⁷²

Waiting for the hearings to begin, Smoot fretted and fidgeted. On January 27, the sympathetic Badger wrote to Rose: "I feel sorry for him, he has a trying position. He is . . . suffering from one of the periodical attacks of indigestion to which he is subject." But the waiting frayed Badger's nerves as well as Smoot's. "He is tormented if he does not have something to occupy his time," com-

credibility. Lund called him "a traitor" since he was "willing to divulge the endowments."

¹⁷²Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, January 21, 1906.

mented Badger the next day, “and I am punished generally along with him, for he comes back to the dictation of letters like a homing pigeon; and I sink into the depths of despair for the Senator’s letters are long as he has nothing else to do.”¹⁷³

Walter M. Wolfe was indeed the first witness called in an atmosphere of tense expectations. Wolfe had come to Utah from Michigan, was well educated, and had excelled as a college lecturer. By 1900 he was one of Brigham Young Academy’s popular professors and articulate speakers. He directed course work in natural sciences and taught the classics as well. A convert to Mormonism, he married a Mormon woman and seemed to have a promising career teaching at the Provo school. But when his wife and baby died during childbirth, he began drinking heavily, apparently a problem that had plagued him before his conversion. He briefly found distraction from his grief by accompanying school president Benjamin Cluff on an expedition to Mexico and South America to explore ancient ruins in an attempt to authenticate the claims of the Book of Mormon. This ill-fated expedition, which failed of its goal, lasted two years, and left Wolfe disenchanted.¹⁷⁴ A chief reason was Cluff’s leaving the group at Nogales, Arizona, to visit Florence Reynolds in Colonia Juarez.¹⁷⁵ The expedition members did not know that he had married her about 1898, but the visit left them with only two unsavory choices: adultery or post-Manifesto polygamy.

Disclosure of the marriage did not reconcile Wolfe to Cluff,

¹⁷³Badger, Letters to Rose Badger, January 27 and 28, 1906.

¹⁷⁴Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 1:289–330, see also 267, 377, 489. Some of Wolfe’s diaries are in the Perry Collections.

¹⁷⁵Cluff, a boyhood friend and fellow student of Smoot, married Mary John, daughter of David John, Abraham O. Smoot’s first counselor in the Utah Stake Presidency. Late in the 1880s, Cluff married a second wife, Harriet Cullimore, aunt of later General Authority James Cullimore. Florence, daughter of Seventy George Reynolds, whom Cluff married in Mexico apparently in 1898 (some eight years after the Woodruff Manifesto), was sent to Mexico to teach at the Church’s Juarez Academy to avoid detection as a plural wife. Cluff’s second wife, Harriet, had been sent to serve as matron of the Beaver, Utah, Branch of the Brigham Young Academy.

and the relationship soured further as the group pursued its expedition into Central America. Personal problems and strong differences of opinion caused rancor. Wolfe left the expedition early and returned to Provo. Even for those who stayed with Cluff, feelings were strained to the point that some expedition members joined with Wolfe in preferring charges of financial mismanagement, poor leadership, and immorality against Cluff. Brigham Young Academy's Board of Trustees found Cluff not guilty, but he felt pressured to resign.

Wolfe's conduct made him unpopular in Provo. After the trial concluded in October 1902, Wolfe accepted a mission call to England in hopes that his problems could be put behind him. He spent most of his time in the mission office writing for the *Millennial Star*. Interestingly enough, one of his articles was a defense of Smoot. He stated dismissively that "all the calumnies of the past seventy years" had been resurrected to attack Smoot. "Already the people of the United States are beginning to realize that they have been deceived by glaring falsehood and sensational newspaper stories. The tide of public opinion is beginning to turn, and every Latter-day Saint should hope that a complete and impartial study of the principles, tenets, and practices of Mormonism will be the result." He claimed that God would use "the machinations of the adversary" to advance "the spread of truth."¹⁷⁶

After returning home, he resigned from Brigham Young Academy and accepted a post at Brigham Young College in Logan, Utah, but was dismissed for alcoholism. By the time Wolfe appeared before the committee on February 7, 1906, he testified that he had been an active Mormon for the last sixteen years, but as of January 2, 1906 (less than a month), he had severed his relationship with the Church over tithing.¹⁷⁷

Wolfe testified that he had seen Cluff's interactions with Florence and had evidence of other polygamous marriages performed after the 1890 Manifesto; some involved his students at Brigham Young Academy and other Church officials. Wolfe's most startling revelation was an alleged conversation with B. F. Grant and Apostle John Henry Smith. He claimed Smith told him, "Brother Wolfe, don't you know that the Manifesto is only a trick to beat the devil at his own

¹⁷⁶William Wolfe, *Millennial Star* 66 (February 4, 1904): 72-74.

¹⁷⁷*Smoot Hearings*, 4:51-52.

game.”¹⁷⁸ Wolfe argued that there had been some attempts to scale back polygamous marriages from 1890 to 1896 but that after 1896 the number of marriages proliferated.

Prosecuting attorney John G. Carlisle then focused on the details of the endowment ceremony. Wolfe claimed he had been through the temple at least twelve times. His memory was as accurate as Smoot had been warned it was, and he recited verbatim several parts of the ceremony.

On cross-examination, Worthington attempted to discredit Wolfe by bringing up his drinking as the reason for leaving both schools. After some badgering, Wolfe admitted that drinking had contributed but that the final straw occurred when he informed the school’s president that he might appear before the Senate committee. It was then, he claimed, he was told that “I might resign then and there.”¹⁷⁹

Wolfe also claimed that Mormon hypocrisy about polygamy and politics was the reason he had gradually lost his faith. After repeating one of the oaths in the ceremony to avenge the blood of Joseph Smith, Wolfe was asked for other expressions of this sentiment outside the temple. Wolfe replied that many hymns expressed a desire to avenge Joseph Smith’s death and quoted:

Praise to his memory, he died as a martyr,
Honored and blessed be his ever great name.
Long shall his blood, which was shed by assassins,
Stain Illinois while the world lauds his name.¹⁸⁰

Smoot and his counsel felt that Wolfe’s testimony, although dis-

¹⁷⁸Ibid., 4:14. Worthington later produced an affidavit from B. F. Grant denying that he had heard the remark or even that he had been in the company of John Henry Smith and Walter Wolfe together. In fact, he had met Wolfe only twice, both times in Provo. Ibid., 4:367–68. John Henry Smith, *Journal*, March 14 and 18, 1906, submitted his own corroborating affidavit. See also Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, March 12, 1906.

¹⁷⁹*Smoot Hearings*, 4:26–27.

¹⁸⁰Wolfe also recited other hymns suggesting Mormon oaths of vengeance for Joseph Smith’s death and placing loyalty to the Church above loyalty to country. *Smoot Hearings*, 4:64–68.

trekking, was less damaging than it might have been.¹⁸¹ The admission of drinking, coupled with some inconsistencies in his statements, convinced Smoot that Wolfe had become, in the committee's eyes, just another axe-grinding anti-Mormon.¹⁸² In Smoot's opinion, the other witnesses were also ineffective. The only one who raised some concern was Charles A. Smurthwaite who testified that Joseph F. Smith had personally warned him not to compete in the salt-producing business because Smith could force him out.¹⁸³

By the time the proceedings ended, Smoot felt that, if anything, he had gained ground during the session. The prosecution's witnesses had not been as troublesome as Smoot had feared. Although some committee members were disturbed over certain aspects of the testimony on polygamy, government involvement, and Church interference in politics, it had not been drastically different from previous testimonies.

Badger, who followed the case closely, corroborated the interpretation of Wolfe's anemic performance. Prior to the testimony, Badger had predicted to Rose that Smoot would be unseated. "Now, the situation is wholly changed. It seems almost impossible that two weeks ago I had the conviction that he would be unseated. To-day there does not seem to be any danger of that extreme."¹⁸⁴ Had Wolfe's life been one of strict rectitude, his testimony would have been just the impetus needed to obtain a continuance. Henry Lawrence's subsequent testimony on the absence of the words "vengeance on the nation or this government" in the endowment oath further deflated the prosecution's

¹⁸¹Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, February 12, 1906.

¹⁸²Some Senate members were so outraged by Dubois's methods that they began to swing in Smoot's direction. Senator John Warwick Daniel of Virginia "told Dubois that he was up to mighty low business when he got a man to leave an organization and tell its secrets." Carl Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, March 4, 1906.

¹⁸³*Smoot Hearings*, 4:83-102. Smurthwaite's testimony was mild and without vindictiveness, but Badger saw from committee members' expressions that Smurthwaite impressed them as a mere pawn on the great Mormon checkerboard while Joseph F. Smith exerted "tyrannical and oppressive" control. However, the prosecution established no direct link to Smoot. Still, Beveridge and Dillingham told Smoot that this testimony needed to "be explained." Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, February 6, 1906.

¹⁸⁴Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, February 10, 1906.

case.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, Carlisle failed to seize a number of opportunities to refute defense claims.¹⁸⁶ Badger found it particularly amusing that both Wolfe and Carlisle “had enough inside them to make the fact smellable,” a fact not lost on the committee.¹⁸⁷

Smoot was naturally anxious for the hearings to conclude and initially wanted to force a vote; but as March and April went by, Republican leaders and President Roosevelt sensed that it might be prudent to carry the hearings over until the next session. Many Republicans were up for reelection; if they were to vote to maintain Smoot, angry constituents might vote against them.

In the meantime, Roosevelt and Smoot met frequently to discuss his case along with other political matters. Roosevelt remained consistently supportive, promising to do what he could to influence senators. Smoot appreciatively reported to Joseph F. Smith in early March: “Senator Dolliver said that for nearly an hour the President told Burrows just what he thought of him and everybody else engaged in this unwarranted fight against me, and that during his remarks the President paid me a very high compliment as a man and said he admired my course during the investigation before the Committee. . . . Dolliver thought it strange that the President should speak so earnestly in my behalf in public.”¹⁸⁸

The last issue that needed resolution was the Taylor-Cowley situation. Many on the committee and in the Senate awaited the Church’s action at the upcoming April conference. Although the resignations had been sitting on the First Presidency’s desk for almost six months, Church leaders had taken no action to make them public. By March, they concluded that Smoot’s situation made it imperative to accept and publicize the resignations. John Henry Smith recorded rather confusingly in his diary on March 8: “The Apostles met and had a long talk over the situation of John W. Taylor and M. F. Cowley and J. M. Tanner. We came to the conclusion to suspend them or rather to accept their resignations.”¹⁸⁹ At April general conference, Taylor and Cowley’s names were not among those presented for the members’ sustaining vote. Instead,

¹⁸⁵Badger, Letter to Ed [Callister], February 16, 1906.

¹⁸⁶Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, February 6, 1906.

¹⁸⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, March 9, 1906.

¹⁸⁹John Henry Smith, Journal, March 8, 1906.

three new apostles were announced: George F. Richards, David O. McKay, and Anthony W. Ivins. (Marriner W. Merrill had died in February, creating the third vacancy.) On April 10, John Henry Smith recorded that the First Presidency and Twelve met in the temple “and talked over” the Taylor and Cowley resignations for “over three hours and a half. All spoke and voted they were one in faith.”¹⁹⁰

Despite this expression of unity, some apostles still found it a high price to exact in defending Smoot’s political cause. Heber J. Grant had written to Smoot the same day as the March meeting: “It has been my earnest and constant prayer that Brothers Taylor and Cowley might be preserved from the shafts of the enemy. I feel sure that if they are sacrificed that it would only be one more concession and that in the near future something else would be demanded. It seems impossible to satisfy a lion when he has once tasted blood and it is equally as hard to satisfy fiends in human form.”¹⁹¹ Grant felt that his own “exile” in England had been in some ways “sacrificial.”¹⁹²

The difficult decision to release these two otherwise faithful members from the Quorum of the Twelve strengthened Smoot’s case in Washington. But for Taylor and Cowley and their families, the blow was severe. The *Tribune* lamented the seemingly unfair decision by the Church to drop two good men to keep Smoot and his ambitions alive in the Senate.¹⁹³ However, papers with much more national prominence lauded the action by Church leaders.¹⁹⁴ With both sadness and appreciation, Smoot reported that ousting Taylor and Cowley had improved his case. “From all that I can hear the Senators, gen-

¹⁹⁰Ibid., April 10, 1906.

¹⁹¹Grant, Letter to Reed Smoot, March 7, 1906.

¹⁹²Grant, Letters to John Henry Smith, July 28, 1906, and August 1, 1906, John Henry Smith Papers. See also Anthon H. Lund and John R. Winder, Letter to Heber J. Grant, September 10, 1906, First Presidency Letterbooks.

¹⁹³Quoted in Jorgensen and Hardy, “The Taylor-Cowley Affair” and Samuel W. Taylor, *Rocky Mountain Empire*, 81–97.

¹⁹⁴Journal History, April 26, 1906. The *New York Times* stated that the Church showed “good faith” by ousting the two apostles and had significantly aided Smoot’s case. It editorialized that Smoot’s seating should be confirmed.

erally, have taken the action of the last conference as evidence of good faith on the part of the Church, and especially President Joseph F. Smith." Even though Burrows and Dubois attempted to "make the Senators believe that this is another subterfuge," Smoot felt their claim was discredited.¹⁹⁵ After Wolfe's testimony had fizzled, many Senators thought the prosecution was pushing too hard and shrugged off claims by Dubois and Burrows.

By May 1906, the decision was made to carry the Senate vote over until the next year. Edward Teller, an influential senator from Colorado, would not consent to an immediate Senate vote, remarking ascerbically that if the committee had needed three years to report, then the Senate need not be rushed.¹⁹⁶ Smoot, his attorneys, the Republican Party, and LDS officials welcomed the day, feeling that it would strengthen Smoot's chances,¹⁹⁷ especially since the committee, on June 6, 1906, voted seven to five in favor of the resolution that "Reed Smoot is not entitled to his seat as a United States Senator." Those approving the motion were two Republicans, Burrows and Dolliver, joined by Democrats Dubois, Bailey, Clarke, Pettus, and Overman. The five Republicans voting against the resolution were Foraker, Knox, Dillingham, Hopkins, and Beveridge.

By June 11, Burrows had written a majority report and Foraker had filed one for the minority. Burrows argued that Smoot was not entitled to his seat because the Mormon Church, through its leaders, promoted and practiced polygamy and attempted to direct, influence, and dominate social, political, and economic affairs. Secret oaths precluded Smoot, as a member of the Church hierarchy, from giving his first loyalty to the country and, consequently, from uphold-

¹⁹⁵Smoot, Letter to Charles W. Penrose, April 30, 1906. Smoot confided to Joseph F. Smith on May 1, 1906, that not publishing the letters of resignation was causing some concern and asked permission to show them to senators who wanted to see them. Apparently, Dubois and Burrows claimed that Taylor and Cowley had not resigned and that the announcement was only a ruse to take the heat off Smoot. Joseph F. Smith promptly responded on May 9, 1906, giving the desired permission to show the letters to trusted friends.

¹⁹⁶Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 72-73.

¹⁹⁷Smoot, Letters to Joseph F. Smith, May 9 and 10, 1906.

ing his oath of office as Senator.¹⁹⁸

The minority report argued that Smoot, by all Constitutional definitions, was a qualified and properly elected representative of Utah. Prosecution claims to the contrary, nothing in Smoot's past indicated that he was unable to function as a competent, productive, and loyal public servant. Smoot had never been a part of the Church's polygamous practices, either through participation or through promotion, and hence could not be held responsible for the Church's actions.¹⁹⁹

A sign that victory was near came in a letter to Smoot from his legal counsel, Waldemar Van Cott, on June 12, 1906, reminding him of his \$10,000 bill. Smoot had paid half, and Van Cott had allowed the rest to drift, but now, "It is apparent that the case is practically closed, and that you will retain your seat. . . . We would appreciate very much remitting to us the balance of our fee, \$5,000.00."²⁰⁰

Despite the scent of victory, the opposition made eleventh-hour efforts to rekindle the fires of expulsion. Numerous women's organizations sent petitions to Washington, asking senators to present them on the Senate floor; most were simply referred to the committee for filing. Dubois and Bailey, still bitter over the changing sentiment, threatened to bring President Roosevelt into the public discussion and embarrass him,²⁰¹ but Dubois lost his seat in the fall elections. Republican attorney and Smoot supporter, Frank Martin of Boise, informed Smoot that Dubois had based his entire campaign on the Smoot-Mormon question, but his attempt to railroad the Idaho Democratic Party into supporting his platform backfired and ruined his political career. The political black eye he gave Idaho so enraged some Democrats that they worked against him to ensure his defeat. Martin stated, "I congratulate you [Smoot] on the apparent close of your case and the further fact that, from the published reports which we get, it seems the Senate is realizing the true purposes and animus of the persons who are behind

¹⁹⁸*Smoot Hearings*, 4:467–98.

¹⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 4:499–542.

²⁰⁰Van Cott, Letter to Smoot, June 12, 1906. This letter irked Smoot as Van Cott's participation in the case had substantially diminished over the last six months.

²⁰¹Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, June 31 [sic], 1906.

the fight that is being made against you.”²⁰²

THE YEAR 1907

When Smoot arrived in Washington in January 1907, his friends were confident of victory. LDS leaders were also cautiously optimistic.²⁰³ Smoot waited until Burrows introduced Senate Resolution 142, claiming that Smoot was not entitled to his seat and scheduled the debate and vote for February 20. Even before that date, a number of speeches had been delivered for and against Smoot. Burrows delivered a major address on December 11, 1906, followed two days later by the vitriolic lame-duck Dubois. Dubois’s speech concluded with an open threat:

Mormon domination and American commonwealths cannot exist together under our system of government. One or the other must be destroyed. The American states will survive in our mountain country, and no President or party, however, great or powerful, can make them long continue subservient to priestly rule. In closing, I warned the Republican party not to re-enact the darkish page of its history when they undertook to place the negro in control in the south. It has resulted in a solid white south against you. If you attempt to put in control of the American citizenship of the Rocky Mountain States this Mormon hierarchy you will find your support narrowed in the future to the followers of the Mormon hierarchy (Manifestations of applause in the gallery).²⁰⁴

Speechmaking resumed in January 1907 with an address by Senator Albert J. Hopkins of Illinois. He was followed by Senators George

²⁰²Frank Martin, Letter to Smoot, January 18, 1907.

²⁰³The First Presidency had appointed a committee consisting of Orson F. Whitney, B. H. Roberts, David O. McKay, James E. Talmage, Nephi Morris, LeGrand Young, Franklin S. Richards, and Richard W. Young to go through all the speeches and newspaper articles concerning Burrows and Dubois and correct misrepresentations of the Church. George Gibbs, Letter to Reed Smoot, January 4, 1907. Apparently, Smoot asked them not to make the rebuttal public until after the final vote, and on behalf of the First Presidency, Gibbs agreed. Gibbs, Letter to Smoot, January 7, 1907. Smoot requested a copy of their report early enough to incorporate it into his upcoming speech of defense.

²⁰⁴*Speech of Hon. Fred T. Dubois of Idaho in the Senate of the United States, December 13, 1906* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1906).

Sutherland of Utah (see accompanying Poulos article), Philander Knox of Pennsylvania, James Barrie of Arkansas, William Dillingham of Vermont, A. O. Bacon of Georgia, Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, Jonathan Dolliver of Iowa, Joseph Foraker of Ohio, and Fred Dubois, who spoke one more time on February 20. Smoot had delivered his speech on the Senate floor the previous day, explaining what he and his constituents stood for, and, in a rational tone, invited his colleagues to look at the evidence, consider the sources, and make a judgment based on principles, not on prejudice.

Newspaper reports reflected the opinion that the pro-Smoot speeches, especially those by Knox and Beveridge, appealed to reason and common sense while the heated fulminations of the anti-Smoot senators seemed too mean-spirited to have much creditability.²⁰⁵ Despite this optimism, Smoot remained cautious, apparently braced for the worst. Mass meetings sponsored by the National League of Women's Organizations set up headquarters in February to fight Smoot's case down to the last day of the vote. According to their reports, between 2 and 4 million petitions were sent protesting Smoot's presence in the Senate.

At 4:00 P.M. on February 20, 1907, the time arrived for the Senate vote, which would require a two-thirds majority. It went down to defeat, 42-28. The vote indicated that thirty-nine Republicans stood by Smoot and he picked up three Democratic senators: Clark, Blackburn, and Daniel. Nine Republicans had bolted across the party line, voting against Smoot: Burrows, Clapp, DuPont, Hale, Hansbrough, Hemenway, Kittredge, LaFollette, and Smith.

It is difficult to determine who was more elated—Reed Smoot or Joseph F. Smith. Smith asked Smoot to immediately contact all the senators who stood by him, as well as President Roosevelt, to express Smith's heartfelt thanks that they had exhibited the courage to rise above the demagoguery of ill-tempered men and sustain a man, a cause, and a people who had been so maligned and misrepresented

²⁰⁵During the final days of the committee meetings, Senator Foraker told several other senators that the "whole affair was much ado about nothing." Dolliver in disgust drew a sketch of a volcano belching forth smoke and passed it to Senator Knox. Carl Badger, Letter to Rose Badger, April 15, 1906. For the text of Smoot's speech, see Michael Harold Paulos, "I Am Not and Have Never Been a Polygamist," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 100-115

for so many decades.²⁰⁶ This was a request that Smoot was only too happy to fulfill.

CONCLUSION

This five-year struggle vindicated Smoot's right as a duly elected official to take his seat in Congress. Of greater significance, the decision politically legitimized the LDS Church for the first time in its colorful history. Although the amnesty proclamations of U.S. Presidents Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison had restored Church property and Church dignity, they did not definitively exonerate the Church from wrongdoing. Despite brief periods of calm and acceptance, overall the Church's history was one of defeat upon defeat at the hands of a hostile government. Statehood in 1896 was a monumental step forward but not a complete victory, as the Church was so vividly reminded in the B. H. Roberts case two years later. It was not until Reed Smoot's election and confirmation five years later that legitimacy was finally achieved. Legitimacy should not be interpreted as social and cultural acceptance or as an indication that American opinion was transformed overnight. That process had only begun, but it was a process the Smoot hearings made possible.

As the hearings played out, often in a painful manner, the issues and practices that required resolution before the Church could integrate into American society were well underway. They clarified that the days of isolationism were over—that this move into the mainstream was desired and needed. The Smoot hearings accelerated this process as no other event had. There were also side effects produced by the hearings. It is doubtful that the Church would have taken a strong stand on polygamy so soon or would have disciplined Apostles Taylor or Cowley without the hearings. Church leaders perceived more clearly the necessity of adopting, in theory and practice, normative American behavioral patterns. Partial adoption was no longer possible and change was vital.²⁰⁷

There were many reasons for Smoot's triumph, but a crucial fac-

²⁰⁶Smith, Letter to Smoot, February 23, 1907.

²⁰⁷Thomas G. Alexander perceptively traced this process, suggesting that 1890–1930 was the genesis of the modern Mormon Church. He identified the Smoot hearings as one factor among several, but a significant one. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, esp. chap. 2.

tor was Theodore Roosevelt's support.²⁰⁸ Although Roosevelt acted primarily behind the scenes, he provided the leadership and support as head of the Republican Party which explain, in large measure, why a crucial majority of senators chose to vote for Smoot. Despite concerns over the dual role of an apostle-senator in Washington, Roosevelt nevertheless had personal and political reasons why Smoot should retain his seat. Another significant factor in Smoot's success was the unwavering support of a few key loyal senators. Perhaps most consequential in the equation of success was Smoot himself.²⁰⁹ Throughout the ordeal, he remained outwardly cordial, calm, and considerate and did not openly lash out or become involved in belittling speeches or vindictive tirades against his antagonists.

Some of Smoot's success must also be attributed to the prosecution's errors. Time and again, they committed blunders that erased the constructive points they had established. Missed opportunities with evidence and witnesses and sensational, not substantive, disclosures discredited them in the eyes of their peers. When public opinion ran strongly in their favor, they failed to capitalize on it; over and over they lost ground—ground they had to recapture throughout the hearings.

The prosecution's case is especially significant in retrospect when one realizes that recent scholarly research has shown that the case of Burrows and Dubois was stronger than even they knew.²¹⁰ Important questions remain: Just how much did Smoot know about

²⁰⁸Milton R. Merrill, "Theodore Roosevelt and Reed Smoot," *Western Political Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (September 1951): 440–53.

²⁰⁹Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 82, argued that Smoot's future success as a senator for almost thirty years could be accounted for in that he "knew his proper place as a young Senator, and did not disturb the veterans by his brashness. . . . He didn't make a single speech on the floor until January 6, 1906, when he spoke for five minutes on an unimportant bill. . . . He engaged in no public controversies. . . . He could be counted on in advance by Aldrich and the other leaders. He accepted menial tasks. He studied and examined claims as though a knowledge of the facts was important. He refused interviews, and his public statements contained no criticism of his most venomous opponents; they were victims of misinformation, not malice."

²¹⁰See, for example, Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages," also his "Beyond the First Presidency: New Plural Marriages in

post-Manifesto polygamy and when did he learn about it? With Smoot's diaries for this period not extant and with no confirming statements from knowledgeable insiders, we are left to speculate about the answer. However, he seems to have been generally unaware of much that John Henry Smith, Joseph F. Smith, and other senior members of the Quorum of the Twelve knew. No doubt they saw that more detailed information would only handicap him and probably kept much from him. Still, Smoot likely knew more than he revealed to anyone. His testimony on the witness stand belies what he must have known—as case after case, document after document turned up.²¹¹ Had Burrows obtained and properly used the information that later researchers have uncovered, the prosecution's case might have been unassailable.

But history does not turn on what might have been. What is historically important is that the Church desperately needed a victory in the hearings to gain respect, stature, and legitimacy. The results brought about by the Smoot case might have been achieved in another way or by another process, but it is doubtful that they could have been achieved as expeditiously. For the next two decades, Church leaders and Church presidents looked back to the Smoot hearings as the turning point in the Church's acceptance nationally and

the Church, 1890–1904,” paper delivered at the Sunstone Symposium, March 25, 1990. In both, Quinn lays out persuasive evidence that, while some LDS authorities believed that the Woodruff Manifesto should be interpreted literally, others asserted that such denials were for public consumption, married new plural wives themselves, and/or helped others do the same. Both positions could claim support from statements by the Church president, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, etc. Such a situation caused much confusion about post-Manifesto polygamy until Joseph F. Smith's second (1904) and final (1911) manifestos.

²¹¹Although Smoot's father, Abraham O. Smoot, from all appearances, was content and happy in polygamy, Reed had no personal inclination in that direction. Reed Smoot, Benjamin Cluff, Joseph M. Tanner, and James E. Talmage, all about the same age and all living in Provo, were well-educated and headed for promising careers in the 1880s. Talmage and Smoot opted for monogamy and enjoyed success in much that they undertook. Cluff and Tanner, at the pinnacle of their careers as presidents of BYU and Utah Agricultural College respectively, opted for polygamy, became social pariahs, and never recovered from the Church discipline imposed on them.

internationally.

Smoot's success at the polls in 1908, 1914, 1920, and 1926 seemed to vindicate the providential approbation of Smoot's role in shaping the Church's mission in the early twentieth century. Nine months before his death, President Smith told Smoot, "I cannot understand how anyone, not even your bitterest opponents, can fail to see the handwriting of an overruling providence in the success and honor you have won and achieved at the seat of government. Surely the Lord has magnified his servant."²¹² Perhaps the most powerful anecdote confirming the perception that the Lord and his leader, Joseph F. Smith, approved of Smoot's course as a necessary step in Mormonism's march forward was recorded by Charles W. Nibley. Nibley recalled that on a return trip from Europe in 1906, he gingerly ventured to suggest that it might be "a wise and prudent thing for Senator Smoot to stay home," instead of going back to Washington. Smith seemed impatient and, after a few moments, brought his fist down on the railing of the ship and stated in emphatic terms, "If I ever had the inspiration of the spirit of the Lord given to me forcefully and clearly it has been on this one point concerning Reed Smoot, and that is that instead of his being retired, he should be continued in the United States Senate."²¹³

As colleague Rudger Clawson wrote to Smoot, "Your presence and retention in Congress is due in my opinion to the special interposition of Providence. And [in] the final determination of the fight waged against you directly, and the Church indirectly, any Latter-day Saint who can't see the hand of the Lord is blind indeed."²¹⁴ In retrospect, Smoot himself saw "the will of the Lord in his victory," as he told biographer Milton R. Merrill in 1939.²¹⁵ In 1909 Smoot's former secretary and future U.S. Attorney General for Utah, Charles M. Morris, wrote to Joseph F. Smith: "My eyes have been opened as never before to the true realization of the Providential guidance in the elec-

²¹²Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Smoot, January 5, 1918.

²¹³Charles W. Nibley, *Reminiscences: Charles W. Nibley, 1849–1931* (Salt Lake City: published privately, 1934), 125.

²¹⁴Clawson, Letter to Smoot, March 16, 1908.

²¹⁵Milton R. Merrill, Interview with Smoot, July 19, 1939, quoted in Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 24. Unfortunately, Merrill's papers at Utah State University contain neither transcriptions or notes of the interviews he conducted with Smoot two years before Smoot's death.

tion of Reed Smoot to the United States Senate six years ago. . . . It is evident that one must confess the Lord has been guiding the destiny of His people through the many adversities and over the many rocky ways of recent years.”²¹⁶ After Smoot’s defeat in 1932, longtime associate Apostle John A. Widtsoe wrote, “When you retire from the Senate the cause of the Lord in these days will have lost its most effective missionary.”²¹⁷

In later years, Church President Heber J. Grant and others echoed similar feelings about Smoot’s significant role in successfully leading the Church into the twentieth century. This sentiment, especially on the part of the Church presidents, gave Smoot the conviction that his course had been in concert with the powers of heaven. It is little wonder Smoot appeared at times to be arrogant, smug, and overly sure of himself on so many issues that affected his church, country, and personal life.²¹⁸

This victory and the support of President Smith did not necessarily insure Smoot’s continued acceptance at home or in Washington. On the contrary, Smoot soon learned after his victory that Church colleagues and political leaders were pleased with the retention of his seat, but that certain other people in both groups indicated it was time to concede he had won and take one of the following options: resign his Senate seat for the victory was his and the Church had been vindicated, or resign his apostleship and avoid cause for further concern about a high Church official serving in the Senate.

The suggestion that he should resign his seat soon came to Smoot’s attention. C. E. Loose informed Smoot a year after his victory that, “I still think, Reed, Joseph F. is the only one for you that will stand. The others [Quorum and Counselors] are after your scalp. The new Bishop [Charles W.] Nibley, you remember he has talked to me before, he is not your friend. You must get busy and have something

²¹⁶Charles M. Morris, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, April 8, 1909.

²¹⁷John A. Widtsoe, Letter to Smoot, December 5, 1932.

²¹⁸Writing to Junius F. Wells on January 26, 1909, Smoot communicates his personal sense of mission: “The letters of congratulation which I am receiving indicate that the American people have changed their sentiment materially in regard to the Mormons. . . . When I realize that such marvelous results have been accomplished in the short period of six years, I feel to thank God for all, and I feel to continue to do my part in placing the Mormon people in the right attitude toward the people of the world.”

doing or you will have no chance to win. They have shut you out if you don't show them different and I know I am right."²¹⁹

Other members of Smoot's political machine concurred. Clove mentioned, "Such people as President Winder, Brother Lyman, Brother John Henry Smith, Brother George A. Smith, Bishop Nibley were opposed to continuation of the strife, which Tanner held your candidacy engendered."²²⁰ B. H. Roberts, never a supporter of Smoot, was critical of Smoot's continued desire to remain in the Senate after the hearings. Roberts declared, "Those that urge two positions upon him are merely making him a candidate for ridicule and riding him under whip and spur to humiliating failure." This evaluation took the high road; Roberts then veered down the low road: "Within his [Smoot's] party alone there are at least 500 men in the state, any one of whom would discharge the duties in an equally acceptable manner, and some of them both with greater credit and advantage to the state, and without perpetuating the old antagonisms and exciting new ones."²²¹

Smoot was able to fight off such resistance only because Joseph F. Smith took a stubborn, aggressive stand that Church leaders *would* support Smoot in the 1908 election.²²² Once over this hurdle in 1908, Smoot continued to see opposition at every election by Church leaders and the rank and file. Smoot admitted to Merrill that, perhaps with his defeat in 1932, antagonistic Church forces had finally done

²¹⁹C. E. Loose, Letter to Smoot, December 13, 1907. Loose reiterated the same warning December 29, 1907, adding that people in and around Church headquarters were saying, "You are too ambitious and don't take the welfare of the whole people into consideration."

²²⁰James Clove, Letter to Reed Smoot, December 27, 1907.

²²¹B. H. Roberts, Letter to Richard R. Lyman, March 30, 1908, quoted in Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 110.

²²²Edward H. Callister, Letter to Reed Smoot, January 10, 1908; and Susa Young Gates, Letter to Reed Smoot, January 5, 1908. Callister reported that Smith was "severe on those who were opposing you" and had promised, "I will take my counselors and the twelve one by one and tell them what I want done, then I will see Bishop Nibley and some of the others." According to Gates, "The Chief spoke of some cowardice of our brethren who felt to regret that we had an apostle in the Senate. He characterized such sentiment in the strongest language he or any other man could use. He stated he wanted Smoot to go on and on and on."

him in.²²³

The second problem facing Smoot was outside pressure either to resign his apostleship and stay in the Senate or to return to Salt Lake and devote himself exclusively to his Church work. This sentiment came from two sources—George Sutherland and President Roosevelt. Sutherland, although a long-time friend from Provo school days, thought Smoot was pushing his luck by attempting to run for a second term. There was talk of another investigation if Smoot decided to run again. Sutherland intimated he might resign his own seat in protest if Smoot did not reconsider. Sutherland also feared that Smoot's continued political activity might ruin the Republican Party in the state.²²⁴

Roosevelt, through two different intermediaries, relayed his concern about Smoot running again while still an apostle. He should either resign from that position or ask for a leave of absence until his political career ended. Roosevelt wanted Smoot in the Senate but without the mantle of the apostleship to raise the specter of Mormon interference. Roosevelt finally admitted that if the people of Utah wished to send back an apostle-senator, he would bow to their will—but reluctantly.²²⁵

With the unswerving support of Joseph F. Smith and the backing of Republican friends in Washington, Reed Smoot was elected again in 1908. This victory, in the eyes of Smoot and Smith, vindicated the Church's fight in assisting Smoot to retain his seat. The legitimacy the Church sought became embodied in the influence and example Smoot projected. More than any other man of his time, Smoot helped move his state and his Church into the twentieth century. Without Smoot and the hearings, the LDS Church would have eventually been legitimized, but it is doubtful that it would have occurred with the rapidity and distinction that Smoot brought to the process.

²²³Merrill, Interview with Smoot, July 1939, quoted in Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 108.

²²⁴Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, April 12, 1908.

²²⁵Merrill, *Reed Smoot*, 114–16.

SENATOR GEORGE SUTHERLAND: REED SMOOT'S DEFENDER

Michael Harold Paulos

"There are extremists upon both sides holding widely divergent views." —Senator George Sutherland, January 22, 1907

ON JUNE 1, 1906, THE U.S. SENATE Committee on Privileges and Election submitted its report to the full senate. It had voted 7-5 that Reed Smoot, elected senator from Utah in 1903, "that Reed Smoot is not entitled to his seat as a Senator of the United States from the State of Utah."¹ The next day, Smoot, a forty-five-year-old Provo businessman and an apostle since April 1900, telegraphed President Joseph F. Smith: "Do not allow Committee on Privileges and Elections report worry you. I am satisfied I will be successful."² The full Senate vote still lay ahead, and Smoot's confidence was based on the Republican Party's dominance in the

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¹The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections held hearings on the Smoot question between January 1904 and June 1906, with speeches in the full Senate following in January and February 1907. The final vote was on February 20.

²Reed Smoot, Telegram to Joseph F. Smith, June 2, 1906, Reed Smoot Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young Uni-

Senate. (When his case came up for vote on February 20, 1907, the Senate had fifty-eight Republicans and thirty-two Democrats).³

Smith responded to Smoot's telegram: "The old saying, better late than never, is applicable in this case, for the press dispatch reporting the action of the committee yesterday was very disappointing indeed. . . . However we had already commenced to get over the first feelings of disappointment caused by the report, and began to feel this morning that a victory won on the floor of the Senate would be very much preferable, in view of the notoriety your case has aroused through the nation, to one achieved in the committee room; and this feeling is now strengthened by the receipt of your telegram expressing yourself satisfied that you will yet be successful. We look for nothing short of success."⁴

PROTESTS AND PETITIONS

Senator Smoot had just completed the most grueling three years of his life. The level of public indignation against him and the Mormon Church had so exceeded his expectations that it is hard to imagine that, had he to make the choice again, he would have jeopardized his reputation by running for public office.⁵ He had been elected to the U.S. Senate on January 20, 1903, by the Utah Legislature (senators were not popularly elected until provided for by the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913) prompting an explosion of protests and national petitions because he was an LDS apostle.⁶ Within days of his election, protests from Utah residents reached Washing-

versity, Provo, Utah. Unless otherwise noted, all of Smoot's correspondence cited in this article is in the Smoot Papers.

³Dispatch from the *Chicago Tribune*, printed as "Senator Smoot to Hold His Seat," *Deseret News*, January 11, 1907, reported that "there is at present a majority in the Senate who believe that he cannot be deprived of his seat."

⁴Joseph F. Smith, Letter to Reed Smoot, June 2, 1906.

⁵Throughout the hearings, Smoot repeatedly offered to resign his apostleship. See Reed Smoot, Letters to Joseph F. Smith, February 5, 1903, December 8, 1905; Carl Badger, Journal, March 22, 1904, quoted in Rodney J. Badger, *Liahona and Iron Rod: Biography of Carl A. and Rose J. Badger* (Salt Lake City: Family History Publishers, 1985), 213.

⁶"Smoot Is Now A Real Senator," *Deseret News*, January 20, 1903, 1.

ton, D.C., disputing his right to become a senator.

The key protest filed against Smoot was twenty-six pages long and endorsed by the Salt Lake Ministerial Association. Salt Lake attorney E. B. Critchlow, spearheaded the writing of this protest and personally solicited all eighteen of its other signatures.⁷ It made six accusations: (1) the LDS priesthood has supreme authority in all things temporal and spiritual; (2) the First Presidency and Twelve are the supreme administrators of this authority; (3) the Church's authorities have not "abandoned the principles and practice of political dictation" nor have they "abandoned belief in polygamy and polygamous cohabitation"; (4) the Church's attitude is evidenced by its teachings; (5) "this body of officials, of whom Senator-elect Smoot is one, also practice or connive at and encourage the practice of polygamy and polygamous cohabitation, and those whom they have permitted to hold legislative office have, without protest or objection from them, sought to pass a law nullifying enactments against polygamous cohabitation"; and (6) "the supreme authorities in the church, of whom Senator-elect Reed Smoot is one, to wit, the first presidency and twelve apostles, not only connive at violations of, but protect and honor the violators of the laws against polygamy and polygamous cohabitation."⁸ Interestingly, at least one of the nineteen protestants who signed it probably had not read it.⁹ (Although most of the signers were members of various Protestant religious denominations, in most cases in this article *protestant* is used in its legal sense as one protesting an action.)

Critchlow's complaint was not alone. Several national women's organizations and Christian societies, many of them formerly active

⁷E. B. Critchlow was born in Mississippi on October 2, 1858, and died December 19, 1920. He attended Princeton University and Columbia Law School, had been a resident of Utah since 1883, served three terms as assistant U.S. attorney, and served one term in the first (1896) Utah State legislature. Testifying at the Smoot hearings on March 10–12, 1904, Critchlow commented on writing the protest and soliciting the signatures. U. S. Senate, Committee on Privileges and Elections, *Proceedings . . . in the Matter of the Protests against the Right of Hon. Reed Smoot, a Senator from the State of Utah, to Hold His Seat*, 59th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Report No. 486 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904–06), 1:1–26 (hereafter Smoot Hearings), 1:592, 1:606.

⁸Smoot Hearings, 1:1–26.

⁹Ibid., 1:606.

in the anti-polygamy campaign, also pressured national politicians by submitting 3,482 petitions against Smoot. (For an analysis of these petitions, see Harvard S. Heath's preceding article.)

ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON

Since arriving in Washington, D.C., for the opening of the 1903 session on March 5, Smoot had gained the trust of many other senators and Republican leaders. He confided to Joseph F. Smith three years later: "I feel grateful to my Heavenly Father for the success I have had in making friends with so many of the leading men of our country. President Roosevelt remarked in a jocular way to me today, that he did not know how it was, but that somehow or other he rather loved me. It does me great good to hear the strong men of the Senate speak of me in terms of friendship and respect, and I certainly hope that I will always merit the same."¹⁰

However, these political friendships were always-precarious alliances that shifted continually. For example, Smoot had counted on the support of Republican Senator Jonathan Dolliver (Iowa), who had been appointed to the Privileges and Elections Committee in 1905. Dolliver had seemed to support Smoot—in fact, had assured both Smoot and President Roosevelt that he would vote for seating Smoot. Smoot felt shocked and betrayed when Dolliver became one of the seven who voted against him, and soothed his feelings by passing on Roosevelt's "supreme contempt for his [Dolliver's] change of attitude."¹¹

In political terms, Dolliver had now become an enemy. Smoot learned, apparently from Senator William Paul Dillingham (R-Vermont) and a committee member, that Dolliver had received a flood of telegrams on the morning of the committee vote from "the ministers of his State . . . requesting that he vote against me—not only one, but most of the ministers in his State. . . . I suppose that it had been arranged that this should be done."¹² A few days later, Smoot received a copy of the *Salt Lake Herald* for June 2, in which Idaho's Senator Fred Dubois, an open anti-Mormon, explained, "We were sure of Dolliver at the time he was appointed on the committee. Lately we looked upon him as doubtful because there was influence being brought

¹⁰Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, June 8, 1906.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, June 31 [sic], 1906.

upon him from the White House, and so we got his home people busy, and they brought him time.”¹³ Smoot promptly passed on the article to Dillingham and Senator Albert Jarvis Hopkins (R-Illinois), also a member of the committee. They “have used it to good effect among the Republican Senators,” Smoot reported with satisfaction. “They have rubbed it into Dolliver.”¹⁴ He summarized: “Dolliver will never live long enough to live down his vote against me. He has not only been subjected to criticism, but has received the contempt of some Senators for his violation of his promise, not only to the President and to me, but to the members of the Committee. I assure you that he has been hurt a thousand times more than I have, and he knows it.”¹⁵ Dolliver learned his lesson and, when the full Senate voted in February 1907, he switched, voting in favor of Smoot.¹⁶

The committee that had tested Smoot's steadfastness, probed

¹³Quoted in “Dolliver Joins the Anti-Mormon Forces,” *Salt Lake Herald*, June 2, 1906, 1.

¹⁴The Senate committee vote was also precarious for Smoot's opponents. Chairman Burrows, who led the fight against Smoot, was surprised when Senator Chauncey Depew (R-NY) reversed his position and voted in favor of Smoot, “I wired you that Depew had telegraphed to Burrows withdrawing his proxy allowing Burrows to vote for him at Committee meetings. I believe I wrote you sometime ago that Senator Proctor had taken this matter in hand, and Tuesday he reported to me that he had been successful. Senator Platt showed him a telegraph from Depew stating that he had wired Burrows withdrawing his proxy. Burrows and Dubois were both angry at Depew, and have sworn that they will force the matter into the Senate at this session. I am of the opinion, however, that Dubois does not want the case settled; his program is to secure a majority report against me, and then to leave the matter unsettled, so that he can go to the people of Idaho and claim that I will be unseated as soon as my case comes to a vote.” Ibid.

¹⁵Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, June 31 [sic], 1906.

¹⁶Putting the best face on his negative vote in committee, Dolliver stated on February 20, 1907, the day of the full Senate vote, that he had been appointed to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Louis McComas (R-Maryland) but attended his first committee meeting on the day of the vote. “I felt it to be my duty to reserve specifically the right to make a more careful examination of the voluminous record that had been presented in the case and the testimony which the report was based.” Obviously, he implied, he had changed his mind as a result of this “more careful”

the private lives of Church leaders, explored Utah's economy, and resurrected polygamy as a political issue for three years, consisted of twelve men although, given the length of the hearings, more than that served. Support was fluid. Some of Smoot's "friends" sometimes wavered, although most ultimately supported him. Southerners who were concerned about the hearings' implications as a states' rights issue were usually supportive from the beginning. Others like Dolliver, changed positions.

However, the core of the opposition was the implacable duo of Burrows and Dubois. Chairman Julius Caesar Burrows (1837–1915) (R-Michigan), was age seventy at the time of final vote and served three terms in the Senate (1895–1911). He used the anti-Mormon platform to get reelected in Michigan in 1904–05. Although the election was expected to be close, political momentum from the Smoot issue let him sweep the field.

In Mormon terms, Senator Fred Thomas Dubois (1851–1930) was unquestionably the villain of the piece. He served one term as a Republican senator from Idaho (1891–97), was elected as a Silver Republican in 1901, then switched parties shortly after the election, serving until 1907 as a Democrat.¹⁷ He and Burrows colluded to find evidence against Smoot.¹⁸ On December 12, 1905, Smoot wrote to President Smith: "Fred Dubois is not idle by any manner of means. . . .

examination. *U. S. Congressional Record*, 59th Congress, 2nd Session, 1906 [sic; the Congressional fiscal year was March to February/March], Vol. 41, p. 3,417, February 20, 1907, p. 3,406.

¹⁷Leo W. Graff Jr., *The Senatorial Career of Fred T. Dubois of Idaho* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988) and Jay R. Lowe, "Fred T. Dubois, Foe of the Mormons: A Study of the Role of Fred T. Dubois in the Senate Investigation of the Hon. Reed Smoot and the Mormon Church, 1903–1907" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1960).

¹⁸Burrows wrote Dubois a letter dated June 27, 1904, that has not apparently survived, but was leaked to B. H. Roberts who forwarded it to Smoot. (According to Badger, Roberts did not divulge the source of the leak. Carl Badger, Letter to Rose Badger December 10, 1904, quoted in Rodney J. Badger, *Liahona and Iron Rod*, 235.) Anthon H. Lund had seen the letter by September 12, 1904, when he wrote to Heber J. Grant: "We have read a letter of his [Burrows's] to Senator Dubois in which he begs him to get up all the evidence he can in Idaho and Wyoming in regard to new marriages and unlawful cohabitation. He also wants Charles Mostyn Owen to

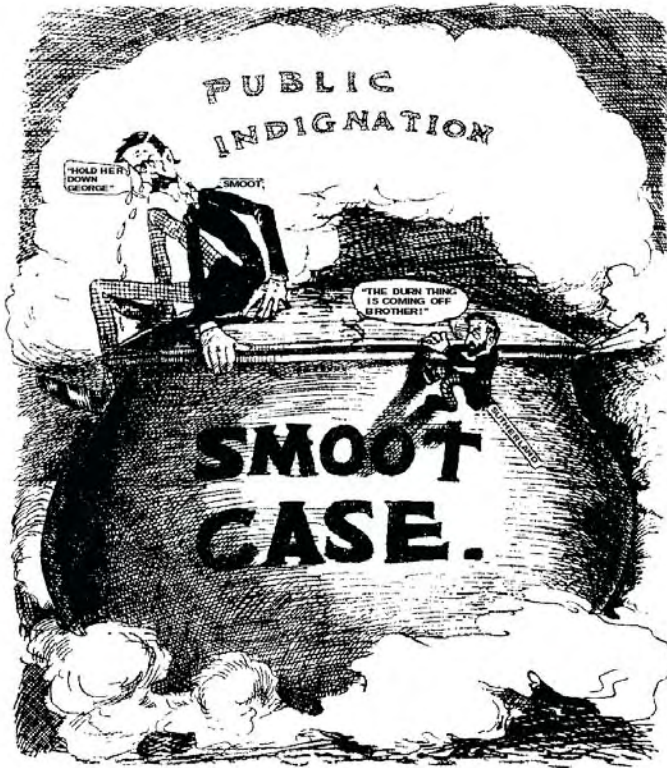
He is trying too hard to poison the minds of the Republican leaders against me, and all Senators that have been friendly in the past, by telling them that I am a dead duck politically in Utah . . . that the Mormon leaders are going to hob nob with the Democrats for a while." Smoot added with satisfaction that he had been calling on U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt "the other morning when Dubois called and I was pleased to note they were not very cordial. I don't believe the President has much respect for him."¹⁹

Earlier in the Smoot hearings, Anthon H. Lund, second coun-

do his utmost to rake up cases in Utah." Lund, Letter to Grant, September 12, 1904, typescript copy, D. Michael Quinn Papers, Beineke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, photocopy courtesy of Smith-Pettit Foundation. In December, after reading this letter, Smoot reported to Joseph F. Smith, "To-day Attorney Worthington and myself went carefully over the question as to what had best be done with the letter. . . . Worthington feels that it is absolutely necessary to use this letter in some shape or other. He thinks that each of my friends on the Committee should read it; he also thinks that it should be published in some paper in New York as well as in Washington; he believes that if this letter can be used by us that it will absolutely kill Senator Burrows as far as any influence he may have in the future as a Senator. Mr. Worthington went so far as to say that he should be impeached for writing such a letter when sitting as a judge in my case. The trouble lies in the fact that we have no permission as yet from the party giving you the letter to use it, and unless we can get this permission, I am afraid that it would be very dangerous indeed to use it in any way that will be beneficial to us. If we publish the letter we can arrange so that the paper publishing it will not give the information away as to where the letter was obtained, but as soon as it is published Senator Burrows will deny it and Senator Dubois will claim that he never received it, and they will try to make out that the letter is a forgery, gotten up, more than likely, by the Mormon people. Mr. Worthington suggested for further consideration that . . . ask him [Burrows] to let us see his letter book. I am afraid that . . . he would flatly refuse our request, and he would then be notified that a copy of his letter is in our possession, and he would then destroy the letter book containing the copy of the letter we have. . . . I called upon President Roosevelt and he was exceedingly friendly . . . told me that he had read Senator Burrow's letter to Dubois, and he remarked that it was 'damnable,' and seemed to be put out about it." Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, December 3, 1904. Smoot Papers.

¹⁹Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, December 12, 1905.

IT'S A HARD JOB THEY HAVE!



Smoot: "Will My Case Come Up? Not If I Can Hold the Lid On!"

Labeled, "IT'S A HARD JOB THEY HAVE," the Salt Lake Tribune, published this cartoon on January 11, 1907, 1. The months leading up to the Senate vote were tension-fraught for Reed Smoot and his fellow senator George Sutherland. This political cartoon accurately represents the boiling public indignation over the testimony given at the Smoot hearings and Smoot's strategy: "Will My Case Come Up? Not If I Can Hold the Lid On!" Courtesy Brigham Young University Family History Center.

selor in the First Presidency, wrote to Heber J. Grant: “[Dubois] wants to disfranchise all the Mormons, and hopes to buil[d] up an anti-mormon party in Idaho that will carry him back to the Senate. He is one of the most cunning and unscrupulous men found. Pres[ident]. [Joseph F.] Smith said that when he was at Washington [D.C.] Dubois had just been brought out of a brothel, and could hardly talk to make himself understood until he got over the effects of his revelry, and yet the temperance women and the virtuous school marms hold him up as a defender of the purity of the home!”²⁰

Many of Smoot's friends increased their support following the adverse committee vote, including President Theodore Roosevelt. A week after the disappointing committee vote, Smoot wrote triumphantly to Joseph F. Smith: “Today I called on the President . . . and no body on earth could have been received with more warmth and friendship than I was. The room was filled with strangers” and senators, including Smoot's arch-enemy J. C. Burrows; but “as soon as the doors were opened the President shook hands with me the first one and asked me to come with him to a seat, and we discussed the situation fully. The President is certainly a great, great big man. Nothing on earth deters him from doing what he thinks is right. He discussed my case in a tone of voice that anybody could hear, and in such a way that nobody could mistake his position.”²¹

SENATE SPEECHES ON THE SMOOT QUESTION

Beginning in December 1906 and leading up to the full Senate vote on February 20, eight Senators (including Smoot) spoke on the Senate floor five in favor of and three opposed to Smoot's retaining his seat. Some of Smoot's friends went on record in support of Smoot. These speeches were not concentrated into a single day or two, but spanned more than two months which, of course, included the Christmas recess:

1. Tuesday, December 11, 1906, Julius Caesar Burrows (R-Michigan), opposed Smoot. He spoke for three hours, attacking Smoot and using both historical and contemporary examples of LDS recalcitrance against the United States.

2. Thursday, December 13, 1906, Fred T. Dubois (R-Idaho),

²⁰Lund, Letter to Grant, September 12, 1904.

²¹Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, June 8, 1906.

committee member, opposed Smoot. Dubois spoke for more than three hours, arguing that the Mormon hierarchy not only dominated political affairs in Utah but was expanding its influence into Idaho, Wyoming, and Oregon.

3. Friday, January 11, 1907, Albert Jarvis Hopkins (R-Illinois), committee member, supported Smoot. Speaking for over two hours, Hopkins argued the constitutional question, claiming that states alone have the right to judge an individual's qualifications for public office.²²

4. Tuesday, January 22, 1907, George Sutherland (R-Utah), not on committee, supported Smoot. This important and intelligently argued speech is summarized and analyzed in the rest of this article.

5. Monday, February 11, 1907, James Henderson Berry (D-Arkansas), not on committee, opposed Smoot, questioning the credibility of the LDS Church by discussing at length aspects of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

6. Thursday, February 14, 1907, Philander Chase Knox (R-Pennsylvania), committee member who was considered the Senate's most intellectual member, delivered a supportive speech for Smoot lasting about an hour and a half, making a legal argument for Smoot's right to retain his seat.

7. Tuesday, February 19, 1907, Reed Smoot. He spoke in his own defense for thirty minutes, emphatically denied being a polygamist, then argued that polygamy was rapidly being phased out. He concluded by declaring his independence in making public policy decisions. (For the complete text, see my "I Am Not and Have Never Been a Polygamist," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 2 [Spring 2007]: 110–115.)

8. Tuesday, February 19, 1907, William Paul Dillingham (R-Vermont), committee member, supported Smoot in a two-hour speech.

The strident anti-Mormon and anti-Smoot stance of Burrows and Dubois was no surprise. Speaking to packed galleries, both Senators lambasted Smoot and the Church over the many issues investigated in the hearings.²³ Burrows had attended all fifty-two days of committee meetings, and Dubois had missed only eleven days. Smoot had expected Dubois's partisanship but was disgusted by Burrows's behavior. He had complained to Joseph F. Smith in April 1904: "Bur-

²²"Argument in the Smoot Case," *Deseret News*, January 11, 1905.

²³"Debate Begins on Smoot," *Salt Lake Herald*, December 12, 1906.

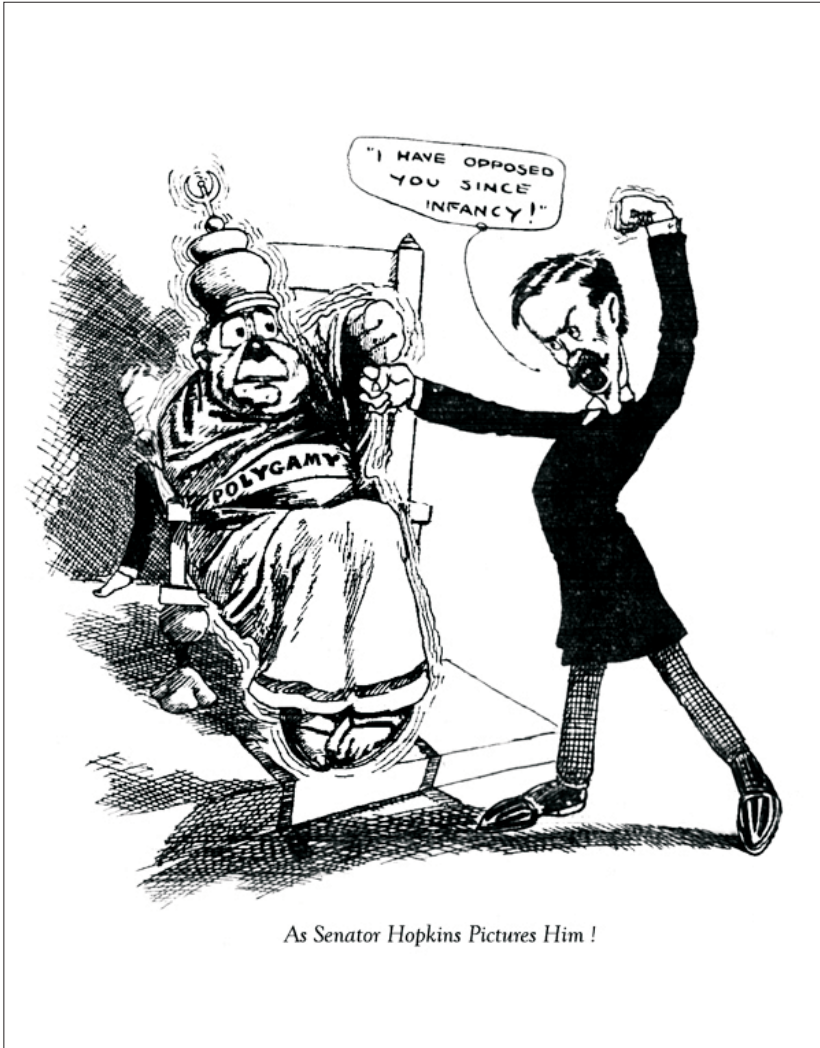


Though not a Mormon, Senator Sutherland enjoyed amicable relations with the Mormon Church and its leaders. The leadership of the Tribune felt the relationship was too cozy and excoriated Sutherland in these two cartoons. Left: Joseph F. Smith is bestowing an apostolic halo on Sutherland with the caption "Take Him In: Might As Well Have Two Apostle Senators as One and a Half." Right: Smoot performs Sutherland's coronation: "The Apostolic Crowning and Sealing of a Senatorship." Printed March 26, 1906 and January 18, 1905 respectively. Courtesy Brigham Young University Family History Center.

rows has some nasty remark to make to me every day or so, and I sometimes wonder how it is that I can keep my mouth shut and avoid insulting him. I hope some day to be in a position where I can tell him what I think of him, and fully believe that day will come."²⁴

The third speaker, Hopkins, was the first to speak in Smoot's defense. He had served on the Senate committee during the entire Smoot hearing, attended twenty-two days of testimony, and missed thirty-one; but Smoot appreciated his friendship and advice on strategy. Three weeks after the negative committee vote, Smoot told Smith that Hopkins had advised sending the minority committee report "to

²⁴Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, April 9, 1904.



On January 11, 1907, Senator Albert Hopkins (R-Illinois) gave an exaggeratedly favorable defense of Smoot to the Senate. Labeled "As Senator Hopkins Pictures Him!" this cartoon pictures a polygamous king sitting on both President Joseph F. Smith and his fictional throne and cowering away from Smoot who energetically claims, "I have opposed you since infancy!" Salt Lake Tribune, Sunday, January 13, 1907. Courtesy Brigham Young University Family History Center.

all the papers in this country; he thought that the effect would be very favorable, and that it would cause many of the papers to change their attitude toward me." He added a personal tribute to Hopkins as "a fighter, and is fearless, and never hesitates to defend me and his position as a member of the Committee on Privileges and Elections. He tells me that he has received a great many letters from the ministers of Illinois complaining of his attitude, and that in each case he has taken special pains to write an answer informing them of their mistaken views in relation to my case, and has sent each one a copy of the minority report."²⁵

SENATOR GEORGE SUTHERLAND

Senator George Sutherland (R-Utah), not a member of the committee, was the fourth senator to address the Smoot question. His speech came eleven days after Hopkins's and one month prior to the full Senate vote. Sutherland had been raised in Utah County, where his family settled in 1863 after joining the Mormon Church in England. Upon arrival in Utah, Sutherland's family renounced Mormonism, and one year-old George was raised outside the Mormon tradition. At age sixteen, George enrolled at Brigham Young Academy under the tutelage of renowned Mormon educator Karl G. Maeser. Sutherland credited Maeser with having a dramatic impact on his life and thought.²⁶

Sutherland's career accomplishments are unmatched in Utah history.²⁷ Sutherland attended law school at the University of Michigan but returned to Utah, opened his law practice, and engaged in local politics. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives (1901–03) and, two years later, successfully ran for the senate, where he served two terms (1905–17). In 1922, President Warren Harding appointed him a justice on the U.S. Supreme Court, the first and only Utahn to serve in that position.²⁸ Though not called as a witness at the Smoot hearings, Sutherland was directly involved with and sup-

²⁵Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, June 21, 1906.

²⁶Joel Francis Paschal, *Mr. Justice Sutherland: A Man against the State* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951).

²⁷Ann Brookhyser, "George Sutherland: Utah's Man on the U.S. Supreme Court," *Beehive History* 12 (1986): 13–26.

²⁸Sutherland was a judicial conservative whose influence extended

portive of his Republican colleague and friend.²⁹ At the time of Smoot's election, Sutherland, then serving in the U.S. House of Representatives, deplored, in a private letter to a constituent, the possibility of an apostle's being elected to the Senate and accurately predicted the national outrage.³⁰ However, when Sutherland ran for the Senate in 1904, Smoot disregarded the First Presidency's advice and actively campaigned for Sutherland, a political favor that Sutherland appreciated and reciprocated.³¹

Sutherland's speech strategy was drawn from Smoot's larger defense strategy. Beginning in January 1905, Smoot's legal team began its defense of the apostle-senator by summoning twenty-three "jack

almost to the present. According to Hadley Arkes, *The Return of George Sutherland: Restoring a Jurisprudence of Natural Rights* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), xi, Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist used Sutherland in an executive powers case during the Reagan administration.

²⁹Sutherland was physically present and prepared to testify at the hearings, but Smoot's defense team elected to not use him. "Smoot Defense Closes Inquiry," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 25, 1905. Smoot and Sutherland's friendship was too chummy for the *Tribune*, which opined late in the hearings, "What a brilliant exemplification of the love which is said to have existed between Damon and Pythias is seen in the conduct of Smoot toward Sutherland and Sutherland toward Smoot on the floor of the Senate. . . . They are almost inseparable! In fact, the devotion of each to the other is difficult to understand. . . . The two really have an affection for each other, . . . It is not an uncommon thing for Smoot to walk over to Sutherland's seat, throw his arm around him very much like a ward heeler does when he is trying to work some political sucker and in this attitude carry on a whispered conversation for minutes at a time. Probably no other Senator does this on the floor of the Senate. It is so unusual that hundreds of eyes are mechanically drawn to them. The hugging act is indulged in by a few members in the corridors, but not on the floor of the Senate." "Utah's False Alarm Statesman," *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 4, 1906.

³⁰"Sutherland's Defense," *Salt Lake Herald*, January 23, 1907.

³¹Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 29. Additionally, one month before the committee vote, Sutherland pledged to Smoot that he would do anything in his power to help him. Reported in Reed Smoot, Letter to Joseph F. Smith, May 10, 1906.

Mormons”³² and four ex-Mormons to Washington testify in favor of Smoot and the Church. In my opinion, Sutherland’s address represents the pinnacle of Smoot’s defense.³³ It was also a significant watermark for Sutherland’s career, as it was his first major political speech in the Senate.³⁴

No one was better qualified, more prepared, or intellectually more capable to take center stage in Washington and speak on Utah conditions. Setting the tone at the beginning of his speech, the junior senator deftly positioned himself as a moderate, an insider-outsider, and an objective observer. He then trivialized the opposing pro-Smoot and anti-Smoot factions by classifying them as “extremists” and “fanatics.” Clearly, this future Supreme Court justice established himself as the voice of reason in the din of zealotry and bigotry.

Addressing a handful of the most controversial issues that had emerged from the hearings, Sutherland outlined a sincere and reasonable path of understanding through the rocky terrain. Sutherland’s game plan was to provide persuasive explanations for such issues as the alleged temple endowment oath that not only vowed vengeance for the murder of Joseph Smith but would have taken priority over Smoot’s oath as a U.S. senator; post-Manifesto plural marriages and polygamous cohabitation sanctioned or even encouraged by the LDS hierarchy; and interference in Utah political and economic life

³²“Jack-Mormon” now means an inactive or not fully orthodox Mormon; but during the Smoot hearings, it meant a friendly Gentile. Charles Jackson, Republican Party chairman in Idaho, a witness for the protestants, responded to Dubois’s question about the definition:

“Senator Dubois. You say all the delegates from the Mormon counties are not necessarily Mormons in religion, but they are Mormons in politics. Will you explain that to the committee?”

“Mr. Jackson. Those are what we call the jack-Mormons, Senator. . . . They are willing to go to greater lengths than any Mormon is willing to go. They are put up by the Mormons, really, to do the heavy work for them, and while they are nominally known as gentile, and not affiliated with the church, everyone knows that they are Mormons for political purposes.” *Smoot Hearings*, 1:203.

³³Smoot’s biographer Milton R. Merrill agreed that Sutherland’s speech was the most effective. Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1991), 77.

³⁴Paschal, *Mr. Justice Sutherland*, 49.

by Church leaders. By taking on this task, Sutherland was not only going against the winds of public opinion but also against a flood of ostensible evidence against the LDS Church. As historian Harvard Heath has noted in the preceding article, Smoot's opponents had a stronger case than they knew, especially where post-Manifesto polygamy was concerned, but repeatedly bungled the prosecution. Capitalizing on this mismanagement, Sutherland's speech trenchantly dissected the many inconsistencies and contradictions of the protestants, casting a pall of skepticism over Burrows's case against Smoot.

EXCERPTS FROM SUTHERLAND'S SPEECH, JANUARY 22, 1907

After introductory comments and compliments to the Senate, Sutherland sketched the dimensions of the challenge:³⁵

... In my own State the people are by no means united in their opinion respecting the merits of this controversy. There are extremists upon both sides holding widely divergent views. Neither side is necessarily wanting in honesty or in sincerity. Fanaticism may be entirely consistent with the love of truth and the desire for justice, although I have never discovered that it is any aid to the ascertainment of the one or the administration of the other. The fanatic in Utah, as elsewhere, does not look at the facts through his natural eyes. He uses a telescope—which is another name for his prejudices.

When he views the shortcomings of his neighbors he looks through the big end of the instrument, and when he looks at his own shortcomings he reverses the operation. The result is that to the eyes of the anti-Mormon extremist the evils of which he complains are, perhaps quite unconsciously to himself, exaggerated and magnified, and sometimes distorted, while to the eyes of the pro-Mormon extremist these same evils are minimized or not revealed at all. In what I shall have to say I do not expect and I shall not attempt to satisfy either of these extreme classes. I shall undertake to discuss the various questions involved with candor and state the facts and vindicate the truth according to my understanding.

He asserted that he himself had come independently to his judgment, then laid out the issues that he saw as beyond the inquiry's scope:

³⁵*U. S. Congressional Record*, 59th Congress, 2nd Session, 1906, Vol. 41, p. 3,417, February 20, 1907, pp. 1486–1501.

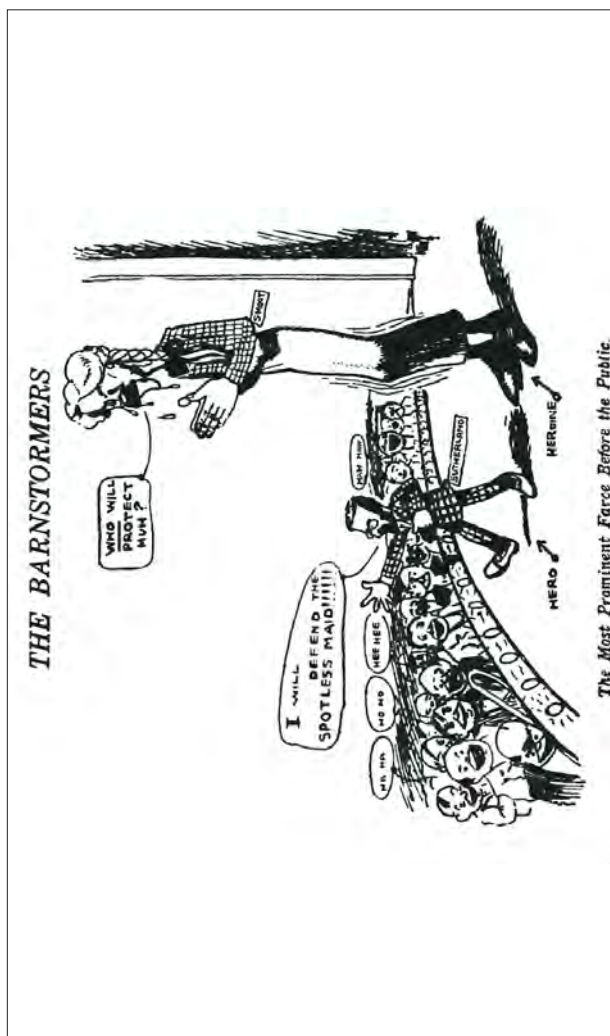
I do not understand it is the duty of this Senate in this investigation to ascertain whether Brigham Young was a model-citizen or the reverse, or whether the keys of the Gospel are in the possession of the Utah branch of the church or the Josephite Branch of the church, nor to ascertain whether the creed or the doctrines of the Mormon Church are in accordance with the twentieth-century standards of theology. While all of those questions may be interesting, they do not seem to me to be pertinent. Neither do I understand that we are here to try the Mormon Church or the Mormon leaders or lawbreakers generally or lawbreakers specially in the State of Utah or elsewhere, except in so far as those matters may reflect legitimate light upon the question which we are here to try and determine, namely, Is Senator Reed Smoot entitled to retain his seat in this Senate?

So far as that question is concerned, it has always seemed to me that the issue was clear-cut and simple. If Senator Smoot is a lawbreaker, either as principal or accessory; if he owes or recognizes allegiance to any power paramount to the allegiance which he owes to his flag and country; if by reason of his conduct he is so morally unfit that his continued presence in this Senate will bring shame and reproach upon it, he ought not to retain his seat. If he is not a lawbreaker, either in his own person or as aider or abettor of others; if he places his love of country, his devotion to his Government, his duty as a Senator of the United States above every other consideration; if he is not morally unfit, he ought not to be deprived of his seat in obedience to any feeling of prejudice within or popular demand from without this Chamber. His case ought to be determined upon broad considerations. Technicalities should not be invoked nor hair-splitting distinctions indulged either in favor of his retention or his expulsion.

He reminded the senators that they had "plenary" authority to decide the case. The Senate was "not accountable to any other authority or tribunal" but to the "considerations of fundamental justice . . . in the conscience of every just man." He then simply dismissed as irrelevant the numerous petitions that Dubois had urged, in his own speech, as determinative because they represented the people's will. While confirming the constitutional "right of the people to petition the Government for a redress of grievances," he pointed that it probably did not apply to "a case like this, which is at least quasi judicial in character, which has to do with the privileges of the Senate, which does not involve any question of legislation or of governmental policy." He concluded this point, "One thing seems certain—that Senators can not permit themselves to be swayed in the slightest degree from a just determination of this case upon the merits by petitions,



Smoot at the player piano (tune: "Don't know where I'm going, but . . ." shouts "Tell Dubois he is a Liar!" Sutherland at the checkerboard, muses: "I said that before Burrows Did!" Their two secretaries, almost buried in discarded drafts, echo, "Aye, aye, sir!" Salt Lake Tribune, Sunday, December 16, 1906. Courtesy Brigham Young University Family History Center.



Captioned "The Barnstormers," this cartoon pillories Smoot as the gawky, shrinking heroine, asking through her tears, "Who will protect mum?" while the diminutive Sutherland declaims, "I will defend the spotless maid!" The audience guffaws at the "The Most Prominent Force before the Public." Salt Lake Tribune, Thursday, January 24, 1907. Courtesy Brigham Young University Family History Center.

however numerous or by whomsoever signed. . . . I respectfully submit that this is a case where the *right* of one individual is more sacred than the mere *demand* of *all* the people.”

He then skillfully sidestepped the appearance of disrespect for the petitioners:

Mr. President, I yield to no man in my respect for that great body of Christian and patriotic women who have brought to us these vast petitions praying for Senator Smoot’s expulsion. As to their good faith, as to their desire that only justice should be done, I make no question, and I have no doubt but the responsibility of the decision of this case is with us and not with them. Whether they are familiar with the facts, we know not; whether they have read the mass of testimony taken before the Committee on Privileges and Elections, we know not; whether they are seeking to hold the Senator from Utah accountable only for his own acts, or to punish him vicariously for the sins of others, for which he is not responsible and with which he does not sympathize, we know not. But this much we do know, that whether the prayer of these petitions be based upon an actual knowledge and a calm review of the facts, or upon a misconception of the facts, each of us must render his judgment after a passionless consideration of the evidence and a judicial determination of the truth, else in the high court of his own conscience he stands forsworn. . . .

Sutherland then summarized the length of the hearings, the expensive search for evidence, the “something more than 100 witnesses,” the documentary search through “the books and the publications of the Mormon Church, the sermons and the declarations of the Mormon leaders, the statements of friends and opponents—sometimes authentic and sometimes not.” He then argued: “If justification can not be found somewhere in these pages for the expulsion of the Senator from Utah, it is fair to presume, conclusively presume, that no such justification exists.”

Sutherland then moved in briskly to attack the fuzzy charges against Smoot:

Some of the charges originally made were so vague; others have become so clouded and uncertain and indefinite by being first asserted, afterwards withdrawn, and then partially reinstated, that no man can read this record and determine from it precisely what are the grounds relied upon by those representing the protestants. Two protests have been presented to the Senate and have been considered by the Committee on Privileges and Elections—the first a general protest signed by nineteen citizens of Salt Lake, the second a special protest signed

by one John L. Leilich alone. The first or general protest contains this significant statement:

We charge him—

Meaning Senator Smoot—

with no offense cognizable by law.

That statement means, if it means anything, that it is not pretended that Senator Smoot has ever violated the law against polygamy or any other law; it means, if it means anything, that he has not aided or abetted any other person in the violation of the law against polygamy or any other law; it means, finally, if it means anything, that he has not engaged in any conspiracy with others for the violation of the law against polygamy or any other law, because, I do not need to say to the Senate, that to engage in such conspiracy would be an offense cognizable by the law of every State in the Union.

Sutherland frankly admitted that he knew E. B. Critchlow, who had drawn up this first petition and, indeed, that Critchlow “has been my warm personal friend for a great many years. I know him to be a lawyer of exceptional ability and of ripe and accurate judgment upon a proposition of law.” That the framer of the petition had exonerated Smoot from this “criminal conspiracy to contine polygamy” effectively undercut the speeches asserting that Smoot was part of a hierarchy conspiring to expand polygamy.

Sutherland then commented that he well knew and respected P. L. Williams, another signer of the Critchlow petition, who had actually been Sutherland’s “law partner . . . for many years, and I know that in ability as a lawyer he stands second to no man in the West.” Other signers were also “lawyers of ability and standing at the bar of that State.” He then moved sharply to the attack:

When these lawyers put into that protest the language which I have quoted—“We charge him with no offense cognizable by law”—they were not indulging in some idle or meaningless phrase. They were stating deliberately precisely what they meant to state. I shall have occasion as I go along to show that they are entirely correct in that statement; but for the present I content myself by saying that I will place the judgment of these lawyers, with full and accurate knowledge of the facts, against the judgment of anybody who asserts to the contrary, that Senator Smoot has violated any law himself, that he has aided or abetted any other person in the violation of law, or that he has engaged in any conspiracy for the violation or subversion of the law.

From this persuasive basis, Sutherland then discredited the sec-

ond petition, drafted by John L. Leilich, who had also signed the first petition: "He therefore asserted, as did the other petitioners, that Senator Smoot was not guilty of any offense cognizable by law. Then Mr. Leilich, with unexplained and unexplainable inconsistency, immediately turns about and makes his special protest, in which he alleges in specific and detailed terms . . . 'That the said Reed Smoot is a polygamist, and that since the admission of Utah into the union of States he, although then and there having a legal wife, married a plural wife in the State of Utah in violation of the laws and compacts hereinbefore described.'" Leilich admitted that he had no evidence of this plural marriage since the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve, "of which the said Reed Smoot is one," kept such records secret "beyond the control or power of the protestants." Sutherland scored a minor rhetorical point by stressing that, despite the use of the plural protestants, "It appears that he [Leilich] was unable in the whole State of Utah to find anybody who would agree with his statement." Sutherland scored a major point by reminding his listeners "that from time to time during the progress of the investigation . . . this charge of Mr. Leilich was repudiated by the counsel for the protestants, Mr. Tayler, and by members of the committee, as, for instance, the Senator from Idaho [Mr. Dubois] and by other members of the committee." Tayler alone, on four separate occasions, "did not stand, nor did the protestants whom he represented, stand for that charge." Dubois himself admitted that the nineteen signers of the first petition had never made such an accusation and that, when Leilich did, the nineteen "repudiated [it] instantly by telegram" as well as in the course of the investigation.

Sutherland did not resist the temptation to hammer home this point:

A lie travels fast; the truth crawls slowly; and so, while it is true that this charge of Mr. Leilich was instantly repudiated by the other signers of this protest, and while it is true that Mr. Tayler, representing the protestants, repudiated it before the committee, and while there is not a syllable of testimony before the committee that even raises a suspicion that Mr. Smoot is a polygamist, while there is an abundance of testimony to the precise contrary, still this charge of polygamy is even to this day believed by a very large number of people in the United States.

As late as March 13, 1906, less than a year ago, the New York World contained in its columns an article upon this subject, and I call

attention to that simply as illustrative. Practically the same article appeared or the same pretended facts were stated in scores of papers throughout the country.

He read a sample from this newspaper article, stressing that Reverend N. E. Clemenson, a Presbyterian minister, had lectured up and down the country on this non-existent plural wife. Sutherland then suggested kindly,

Now, of course, this question as to Senator Smoot's being a polygamist is no longer of any consequence here in this inquiry, but to my mind it reflects a world of light upon the attitude of these good women and these good men who have brought to us these great petitions. Of course there is no way of accurately determining the fact, but I venture to say that if the truth could be known, a very large majority of the women who have signed these petitions have done so in the firm belief, induced by slanderous and libelous statements such as these, that Senator Smoot is a polygamist, having anywhere from two to a dozen wives.

I have had occasion myself during the last few weeks—and other Senators have told me that they have had similar occasion—to deny stories of this kind. People have said to me, "Senator Smoot ought to be expelled." I have asked, "Why?" They have said, "Because he is a polygamist." I have answered them, "You are entirely mistaken. Senator Smoot is not a polygamist. I know him intimately. I know his family. I know his neighbors, I think I know all about it; and I know as well as I know anything concerning another that he is not a polygamist." Then these people have said to me, "Then what in the world is all the row about?" . . .

Although apologizing for his apparent harshness, Sutherland suggested that Clemenson "deliberately stated what he knew to be false, or at least what he had no reason to believe was true." Any man, especially a clergyman, "who would deliberately make a false statement of that character about another, and especially when that other was engaged in a contest before the Senate and before the country for the preservation of his good name, deserves to be cast out of decent society and pilloried with the contempt of honest men for all time to come."

Having demolished the red herring of Smoot as a polygamist, he then moved on to the Endowment House oath, which allegedly would have made it impossible for Smoot to fulfill his oath of office as a senator. Sutherland stressed that the nineteen signers of the first pe-

tition had not brought it up. Furthermore, Utah had “hundreds, if not thousands, of persons who had . . . been adherents of the Mormon Church, but who had severed their connection with or had been excommunicated from the church. Those people, or at least a very large number of them, have gone through the endowment-house ceremonies, where it is said this oath is taken. If such an oath as that is administered in those ceremonies, these men and women have taken it and they know it.” Lacking “any undue friendship for the church,” Sutherland asked how likely it was for this oath to have remained a secret. On the contrary, the nineteen signers of the first petition had “repudiated this charge by telegraph, counsel for the protestants had “repudiated” this accusation “as many as three or four different times,” and Fred Dubois had admitted that “both of those contentions”—Smoot’s polygamy and this secret oath—“were entirely eliminated” and that “the attorneys representing the protestants” would not attempt to prove them.

How, then, had the question arisen? Sutherland explained that Francis M. Lyman, during his testimony, had “said something with reference to the endowment-house ceremonies” but declined when Burrows asked him to repeat the ceremonies, except to say: “I remember that I agreed to be an upright and moral man, pure in my life. I agreed to refrain from sexual commerce with any woman except my wife or wives as were given to me in the priesthood. The law of purity I subscribed to willingly, of my own choice, and to be true and good to all men. I took no oath nor obligation against any person or any country or government or kingdom or anything of that kind. I remember that distinctly.”

According to Sutherland, Lyman’s testimony had given Burrows the idea. He had brought it up with other witnesses, but the instigator of this line of question was “always, as I remember, by the chairman of the committee [Burrows] and never by the counsel for the protestants.”

Sutherland then spent several minutes summarizing the testimony of three witnesses from Salt Lake City: J. H. Wallis, August Lundstrom, and Annie Elliott.

Wallis testified that he had gone through these ceremonies, and he gave upon the first occasion when he was called to the stand this version of the oath:

Mr. Wallis (standing up). “That you and each of you do promise and vow that you will never cease to importune high heaven to avenge

the blood of the prophets upon the nations of the earth or the inhabitants of the earth." I could not tell you exactly which it was.

Now, after having had a night to sleep on the subject, he came back the next morning and said he was mistaken in the version he had given, and he then proceeded to give this version of it:

Mr. Wallis: "That you and each of you will never cease to importune high heaven for vengeance upon this nation for the blood of the prophets who have been slain." That is as near as I can get at it; that is the substance of it.

Mr. Worthington: Was there anything in that obligation about inhabitants?

Mr. Wallis: Nothing about inhabitants. I found I was wrong about that.

So he states when he first comes upon the stand that the oath was to ask vengeance upon the nations of the earth or the inhabitants of the earth, and he did not know which, and the next morning it was upon "this nation."

The next witness who was called was Mr. Lundstrom. His version of the oath is as follows:

"We and each of us solemnly covenant and promise that we shall ask God to avenge the blood of Joseph Smith upon this nation." There is something more added, but that is all I can remember verbatim that is the essential part.

Mrs. Elliott gave this version of the oath: "One I remember. They told me to pray and never cease to pray to get revenge on the blood of the prophets on this nation, and also teach it to my children and children's children."

Sutherland then summarized the testimony of witnesses against the character of all three, testimony, he stressed, that "remained absolutely uncontradicted" even though "more than a year elapsed before the case was finally closed." Wallis had a "bad" reputation where the truth was concerned; he had been found guilty in the police court of "drunkenness," and, according to another, was "of unsound mind, and . . . claimed personally that he had communication with the devil." Lundstrom's reputation, though lacking the colorful details of drunkenness and communication with the devil, also had a "bad . . . reputation for truth and veracity."

Annie Elliott had presented herself as a remarried widow whose first husband had died in October 1897. "The Senate will be interested and somewhat surprised," commented Sutherland urbanely, "to know that later on in that investigation this husband who was declared to be dead himself appeared before the committee in the flesh and gave the committee to understand that the statements regarding

his death made by his wife were considerably exaggerated." Senator Albert Hopkins, a Republican from Illinois, asked leave to interject a comment here. Sutherland yielded, and Hopkins explained that Annie Elliott's first husband "testified that he had been in constant communication with the children of Mrs. Elliott, who were living with her. So she could not have been misled as to the fact that he was alive."

With the witnesses on the wording of the oath discredited, Sutherland then summarized quickly the testimony of "four or five" former Mormons who testified that they took no such oath when they went through the Endowment House.

The issue of the oath, obviously, "was supposed by everybody to be closed," described Sutherland, "but to the astonishment of at least some people it was reopened more than a year later" with the testimony on Walter M. Wolfe, William J. Thomas, John P. Holmgren, and Henry W. Lawrence. Sutherland again read their versions of the oath into the record:

Mr. Wolfe. The law of vengeance is this: "You and each of you do covenant and promise that you will pray, and never cease to pray, Almighty God to avenge the blood of the prophets upon this nation and that you will teach the same to your children and your children's children unto the third and fourth generations."

Mrs. Elliott said it was to teach it to their children and their children's children, but Professor Wolfe adds unto the third and fourth generations. It was shown that Professor Wolfe had joined the Mormon Church ten or twelve years before he testified; that immediately after joining the church he had gone through the endowment house ceremonies; and he testified that although he believed the very first time he took this obligation that the seeds of treason were planted in it, he yet testified that he took it eleven times again, the last time within a year or two before he appeared before the committee. He continued to be a member of the church until three weeks before he appeared upon the stand, at which time he was excommunicated for drunkenness. He lost his professorship in one of the colleges and was excommunicated from the church. . . .

Henry W. Lawrence was a member of the church away back in the sixties, and left the church about that time and, by the way, he is a man of excellent repute in Salt Lake City; I know him well, and am glad to testify to it here. Mr. Lawrence testified that he had not only taken these obligations himself, but that he had been one of those who administered the ceremony; that he had administered the oaths or the obligations, whatever they were which were given, hundreds of times, and Mr. Lawrence swore positively that the word "nation" was not mentioned at all in the oath. . . .

So we have the testimony of five witnesses who say the word "nation" is used, and of those five witnesses, four of them are shown to be utterly unworthy of belief—drunkards and of unsound mind—and one of them says that he has communications with His Satanic Majesty.

Mr. Foraker. And one is a perjurer.

Mr. Sutherland. Yes; and one whose perjury is shown by her own testimony.

Mr. President, that there is some sort of an archaic obligation taken in these ceremonies I have no doubt. I do not know just what it is. But that there is any obligation that is hostile to this Government in any sense whatever there is not a shred of testimony worthy of belief in this record to establish. . . .

Mr. Culberson. Mr. President—

The Vice-president. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. Sutherland. I do.

Mr. Culberson. Some of us regard the proposition which the Senator from Utah is now discussing as exceedingly important. . . . I should like to ask him what the testimony of Senator Smoot was . . . as to the oath.

Mr. Sutherland. I am very glad, indeed, that the Senator has called my attention to that matter. I had overlooked it. Senator Smoot denied in positive terms that any such oath was taken. . . .

Mr. Burrows. Mr. President—

The Vice-president. Does the Senator from Utah yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. Sutherland. I do.

Mr. Burrows. Ought not the Senator to state in this connection that the Senator from Utah absolutely refused to disclose what the oath was?

Mr. Sutherland. Mr. President, I have not the slightest objection to stating in this connection that that is correct. The Senator from Utah declined to state what these obligations were, and so did other witnesses; and they declined to state it upon precisely the same theory that a member of the Masonic order or any other secret society would decline if called to testify about the ceremonies of his order. Unless he were compelled, he would absolutely decline to state what were in those ceremonies. He would be perfectly willing to state what was not in them. Any Mason would be willing to state that there is nothing in the Masonic ceremonies or ritual that in any way imports hostility to the Government, but if he were asked to state in detail what those ceremonies were, in all probability he would decline to state them. Upon precisely the same ground Senator Smoot and these other witnesses who are still members of the church declined to state them.

The beleaguered Burrows may have thought he was bringing up

a damaging point in Smoot's refusal to recite the oath, but Sutherland smoothly turned it into a positive advantage, and another senator, Jacob Gallinger (R-New Hampshire) broke in excitedly to corroborate: "A Mason would absolutely decline to state them."

Hopkins quickly added that "the witnesses who declined to give the oaths did state that they were of a religious character and that there was nothing in them that was hostile to the Government in any form," a summary which Sutherland agreed was "quite correct."

Sutherland had thus neatly disposed of the two charges of Smoot's "polygamy and . . . having taken an inconsistent oath." He reminded his listeners of the statement in the original petition: "We charge him with no offense cognizable by law" and posed the question: "What, then, are the offenses not cognizable by law which . . . would warrant the Senate in declaring that a duly elected, duly accredited, and constitutionally qualified Senator was not entitled to retain his seat[?]" Such an offense must not only be "of the gravest possible character" but proven by "evidence beyond all cavil that he was utterly unfit to sit here." He made a graceful reminder to his colleagues:

This Senate is not a voluntary association from which members may be expelled because we do not like them, or because other people, however numerous, do not like them. Membership in this body is a matter not of grace, but of right, and whoever challenges the right takes upon himself the burden of establishing beyond all reasonable question the justice of his challenge.

It seems to me that the offenses not cognizable by law may be discussed under two propositions: First, that polygamy and polygamous cohabitation are still practiced by some members of the Mormon Church, of which church Senator Smoot is an apostle; second, that this church claims the right and exercises the authority of dictating to its members in political and temporal affairs. . . .

Mr. President, an erroneous religious idea is the most difficult thing in the world to combat. It submits to no rule of logic. It fits into no syllogistic form. It is major and minor premise and conclusion rolled into one dogmatic declaration—"thus saith the Lord."

Civilization from the beginning of history has been covered with the crazy patchwork of the unreasoning foibles of theology. A thousand years ago Peter the Hermit set all Europe in a blaze of religious fervor with the demand that the Holy Sepulcher should be wrested from infidel hands. The mad crusades which followed resulted in immeasurable suffering and in the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, Christian as well as infidel. Carrying aloft the banner of the cross of that Christ whose very birth signalized "peace on earth, good will

toward men," and whose imperative command was "love your enemies," the Christian armies of the crusades threw themselves with savage and bloody fury upon the Moslem world in response to an appeal to their religious passions.

Almost within the memory of our grandparents old England and New England were lashed into a superstitious frenzy over witchcraft. The belief filled a century with gloom and horror. The story of its cruelties makes a dark and sinister chapter in the otherwise magnificent history of Massachusetts. If some poor woman, borne down by poverty, filled by a sense of injustice, walked the path of life apart; if some child, undersized, crippled, deformed, exhibited unusual precocity of mind at once the finger of public suspicion was pointed and the horrifying cry of witchcraft was raised. . . .

So I say, Mr. President, that you can not reason with a false religious belief any more than you can argue with a case of typhoid fever. It simply runs its course and mental health returns, not when the intellect has been convinced by the appeal of reason, but when by the process of time and by the slow attrition of opposing thought the intellect has so far changed that the false belief no longer appeals to it. So the fact that polygamy has been opposed to practically the unanimous thought of the American people—has been opposed to the almost unanimous thought of the Christian world—is no argument whatever that the people who practiced it and taught it did not believe sincerely in its rightfulness.

Mr. President, polygamy having been abandoned by this manifesto, and there being in the State of Utah this large number of polygamous households, these men whose status had already been fixed, the question at once arose what was the wise thing to do about it, and the feeling which was entertained by the Gentiles generally, while they did not approve, while they would have infinitely preferred that it should have been otherwise, nevertheless the feeling was that, all things considered, the wisest and best thing was to see as little of it as possible, to let those people live out their lives, and thus get through with it. This is practically the unanimous testimony in this record.

He cited Critchlow's testimony that nearly everyone was willing to ignore polygamy "except in cases where they were really absolutely offensive, or where they occurred in such a manner as to be really examples to the people." Critchlow freely admitted that "offensive" was a relative term, but that "wives living in separate houses" whose husbands "have simply kept up the old relations" with a minimum of publicity would not have attracted opprobrium. Sutherland commented that "perhaps thirty" witnesses had all made the same point about letting polygamy die out naturally in another generation.

The post-Manifesto situation, he asserted,

was one which bristled with difficulties, . . . which must be approached from the standpoint of practical statesmanship rather than from the standpoint of the religious reformer. Those men and women who entered into these marriages were not inspired by lust. They were good men; they were pure women. Any man who has lived in the State of Utah, who has mingled with them in their daily life, who has sat at their firesides, and who has talked with them must admit that this is a fact.

Mr. President, . . . if it had been the ordinary case of meretricious living, there would have been no difficulty in dealing with it; but it was not. It was a case where these people had entered into these relations believing the relations were just as pure as the relations existing between a man and his one wife. In the ordinary affairs of life they are good citizens; law-abiding citizens, self-respecting members of the community, and we felt, when the church issued that manifesto forbidding the practice for the future, that the time had come when we could afford to bear with the situation with some degree of patience until it finally worked itself out; in other words, we felt that we could afford to cover this remaining remnant of a passing generation with the mantle of charity (which covers a multitude of sins) until, in the course of a few years, they should be covered with the everlasting mantle of the grave. So much for the old cases of polygamy.

But what of new cases? With impressive candor, Sutherland simultaneously confessed both his ignorance of the facts and that “there have been some cases of that character. So far as those cases are concerned, no word of justification or excuse or toleration can, in my judgment, be uttered by any honest man either in this country or out of it.” He estimated no more than “twenty cases since the manifesto was issued in 1890.”³⁶ Furthermore, these “marriages were celebrated somewhere else—in Mexico, in Canada, or somewhere out of the jurisdiction of the United States.” Lest anyone think Sutherland was minimizing the number, he cited the energetic “Charles Mostyn Owen, who has seemed to be a sort of master of ceremonies in this whole investigation,” and had conducted his own investigations “for many years” in “practically every Mormon settlement in Utah and most of the settlements in Idaho and Wyoming.” He had supplied a

³⁶This figure was far from accurate. B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Passage: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 389–93, compiled a “tentative list” of post-Manifesto plural marriages between 1890 and 1910. At the time of Sutherland’s speech, according to this list, 243 such marriages had been performed (1890–1907).

list of eleven possibilities, with "one or two others," supplemented by "testimony which indicates that there are some additional ones."

If the energetic Owen had been able to produce no more than twenty, Sutherland's listeners would have drawn the correct conclusion that the problem was hardly raging out of control. Sutherland moved promptly to his next point. Five of the twenty were apostles, hence, presumably influential examples to the people. They were George Teasdale, Abraham H. Cannon, Marriner Merrill, John W. Taylor, and Matthias Cowley.

Briskly, Sutherland removed Teasdale from the list since "he married his wife under such circumstances as would render the marriage absolutely void," although he gives no details.³⁷ Merrill made an affidavit on "his deathbed, . . . in which he positively denied this charge and said . . . that he had not married any wife at all since the manifesto."³⁸ Abraham H. Cannon had, in fact, married a plural wife in 1896 but "died within thirty days after that marriage" asking forgiveness from his legal wife, who felt that his guilt "worried him into his grave."

That left only John W. Taylor and Matthias Cowley. Sutherland rather contemptuously said of the testimony in the hearing, "I think no judge would probably hold it was sufficient to warrant a verdict of conviction by a jury." But after having dismissed the case against three of the five apostles, he took a firm stand against the two remaining: "I have absolutely no doubt in my own mind that both those apostles have taken plural wives since the manifesto, and I think there are no words in the English language that are sufficiently severe with which to condemn their conduct." Smoot, however, could not be held responsible, since "he preferred charges against those apostles to the first presidency of the church and demanded an investigation. An investigation was had, and it resulted in the removal of those two men from their offices, and they are to-day fugitives from justice in a foreign jurisdiction." As Harvard Heath's preceding article makes it clear, Smoot's action was much less decisive than "demanding" an investigation; although his anxiety to have the First Presidency take action against the two apostles was extreme, he absented himself from general conference in April 1905 so that he would not be seen on the stand either voting for or against the two, or abstaining. Sutherland's

³⁷For details on this marriage, see *ibid.*, 222–27.

³⁸Merrill married Hilda Maria Ericksen in 1901. *Ibid.*, 208.

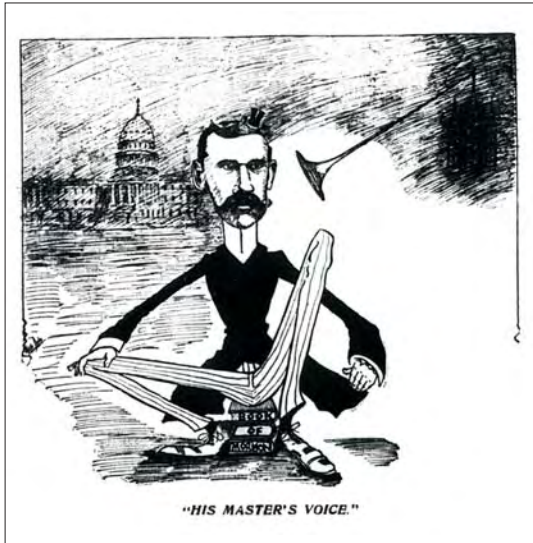
summary also skates rapidly over the First Presidency's real reluctance and lengthy delays in taking decisive action against the two apostles.

They had, however, become legitimate targets for opprobrium, and Sutherland waxed eloquent in condemning them and, by implication, praising the upright Smoot:

Mr. President, every one of these men who has taken a plural wife since the manifesto, in addition to being a violator of the law, is an enemy of his own people, who has done them a more grievous wrong than any open and avowed opponent could possibly do, because he has set them in a false light before the country and compelled every one of them, in the eyes of a large portion of the American people, to share the shame of his lawlessness. Such a man has not only broken the law of the land and the law of the church, but he has broken his own pledges, if not expressly, at least impliedly, and none the less solemnly given to the nation. As I say, there can be no word of toleration uttered for that kind of an individual. If I had my way, every one of them would be in jail serving out the extreme penalty of the law; and, Mr. President, in my deliberate judgment, that is the feeling and the sentiment of the vast majority of the Mormon people themselves. The Mormon people are opposed to polygamy being restored. The Mormon people themselves are opposed to these violations of law.

Sutherland then moved on the accusation that the Church had interfered in politics. "That these complaints were well founded in the past I have no doubt," he acknowledged smoothly, "but the Senate is interested in knowing what the conditions are now, and we are only concerned with past conditions to the extent that they may reflect light upon the present." He eloquently described the "pathetic march" of the Mormons into danger "at the hands of savage men and savage nature," led by their "new Moses pointed out by the finger of God." Brigham Young's leadership gave them "serene confidence" and they saw no reason not to develop a theocracy: "The disposition of the leaders to advise, counsel, and direct, and that of the people to accept direction, counsel, and advice in all things, grew stronger and stronger as time went on. . . . There was a practical union of church and state."

Gentiles organized their own party in 1870 while the Mormons countered with their own. "The fight which ensued and which lasted for the next twenty years was of the bitterest possible description" until the People's Party disbanded in 1891 and Mormons affiliated with



"His Master's Voice." Smoot's opponents charged that he (seated here on the Book of Mormon) was unduly influenced by Joseph F. Smith, president of the Mormon Church, obviously the face behind the trumpet. Salt Lake Tribune, Sunday, February 5, 1905.

Courtesy Brigham Young University Family History Center.

the national Democratic and Republican parties. Even earlier, younger Utahns had grown dissatisfied with these political divisions along religious lines. Sutherland himself in 1890 was nominated as the Liberal Party's candidate for mayor or Provo. "A number of the younger men in the church revolted against the People's Party and supported my candidacy. Among the leaders in that revolt was Senator Reed Smoot himself."

Using this charming anecdote as a springboard, Sutherland graciously conceded that, despite the sandy foundation of "rumor and hearsay" for charges of Church interference,

in my judgment, there have been some instances since the division on national party lines where high officials of the Mormon Church have interfered in political matters.

But the great and important fact to me—and it seems to me it ought to be also to the Senate—is that while there have been occasional instances of this kind there has been a steady improvement in that direction; and my deliberate judgment is that since 1900 there has been no instance of that kind in the State of Utah at all. I do not mean to say that some president of a stake or some bishop in some outlying locality may not have done something; but, so far as the leaders of the church are concerned, since 1900 there has been, to my mind, no well authenticated case of interference.

He then shifted quickly to a parallel but unrelated analogy of



Sinbad the Sailor (Smoot) is shown plodding across an endless desert carrying Joseph F. Smith ("his old man of the sea"). Salt Lake Tribune, Sunday, April 15, 1906.

"influence"—namely, the dwindling number of polygamists in the public eye. From thirty of 107 in the 1895 constitutional convention, the number in the first state legislature (1896) was six out of sixty-three, five three years later, three by 1903, only one in 1905, and, "in the present legislature, according to the information I have, which I think is reliable, although I do not absolutely vouch for it, there is no polygamist at all."

He traced "the same progress" in the Church hierarchy. In 1896, he claimed, of the First Presidency and Twelve, only three were monogamists. (Actually, only Anthon H. Lund was *not* a polygamist.) When Smoot became an apostle in 1900, "a majority" were polygamists; but "to-day out of the 15 members there are only 5 polygamists, while 10 are monogamists." (Actually, only four were monogamists: Lund, Smoot, Rudger Clawson—who was a former and a future polygamist—, and Owen Woodruff, who married a plural wife after 1900.) He also asserted that, of the estimated 800 stake presidents and bishops, only fifty-three were polygamists in 1905, but since then, the number had shrunk, "according to my information, not to exceed about thirty-five."

Sutherland then bore a stirring testimony of progress or, as he called it, "evolution":

I am not religious in the ordinary acceptance of the term; I have no patience with mere forms or mere creeds or mere ceremonies; but I do believe with all the strength of my soul that "there is a power in the universe, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness." I am an optimist in all things. I do not believe that the world is growing worse. I feel sure it is getting better all the time. . . .

I do not say that conditions are perfect in Utah; they are not perfect anywhere; but I do say that conditions to-day are immeasurably better than they have ever been before, and that, in my judgment, they will be better to-morrow than they are to-day. I do not claim that there are no evils among the people. Some remnants of the old objectionable conditions still exist. But I do claim that those evils are fewer in number and less in extent by far to-day than they have ever been before, and, in my judgment, it will be but a short time until they are eradicated altogether.

A community, Mr. President, like an individual, does not overcome its bad habits without a struggle. Indeed, the struggle is more difficult because the number of individuals who are concerned, with their varying degrees of self-restraint and desire for reform and strength of purpose, renders the problem more complex. As with an individual, so with a community. There are the occasional lapses, the goings forward and the slippings back, the failings down and the risings up, and, thank God, the same ultimate triumph if the resolution be sound at the core. . . .

Upon stepping stones of its old self Utah has risen and will rise. We must not forget that the conditions of which the American people justly complained were nearly fifty years growing the wrong way; they have been only fifteen years growing the right way, but the great and important and splendid fact is that they have been growing the right

Sutherland is depicted in this cartoon as "Simply a Shadow of Smoot." Salt Lake Tribune, Monday, January 9, 1905. Courtesy Brigham Young University Family History Center.



way. And I say to you, Mr. President, and to the Senate, and to the country, with what I believe to be the words of soberness and truth, that the people of that State are ridding themselves of these objectionable conditions just as rapidly and just as effectually as any far-sighted man, knowing the circumstances, could reasonably have expected they would, and that we are to-day far beyond the slightest danger of any successful reactionary movement.

He then returned to his specific defense of Smoot—not only a monogamist but “opposed to the practice of polygamy since he was a young man.” In ringing terms, he continued:

Mr. President, it is asserted by this original protest in the most positive terms that Senator Smoot is not charged with any offense cognizable by law. In all the things which constitute the decencies and moralities of life he stands here, as he stands everywhere he is known, beyond criticism and above reproach. Day after day and month after month for nearly four years he has met the shafts of ridicule, falsehood, and slander that have been directed against him, and he has faced them all with serene and patient courage. However much he may have chafed inwardly, he has borne himself outwardly with rare composure and self-restraint. He believes that the day of his vindica-

tion is at hand. But if it shall be otherwise, if the verdict of this great jury shall be against him, if the long struggle shall end not in vindication, sweeter than the honey of paradise, but in a pitiful defeat more bitter than death itself to an honorable man, he will, in my judgment, step from this august Chamber with anguish unspeakable in his heart, but with no stain upon his soul, because no man's soul can be stained save by himself.

CONCLUSION

Sutherland's powerful defense was soundly lauded in Washington. Carl Badger excitedly recorded in his journal:

I have been over to the Senate listening to a great speech by Senator Sutherland. This speech will always remain as a splendid presentation of the facts in regard to Utah and the Mormon people. . . . This may be extravagant, but I am sure of this, that the speech that Sutherland delivered today more accurately sets forth conditions in Utah than any that has ever been delivered in Congress. We have heretofore suffered from blind friends and prejudiced enemies. Even the speech delivered by Senator Hopkins last week had in it things in our favor to which we are not justly entitled; just as the speeches of Burrows and Dubois are full of exaggerations and misstatements.³⁹

Utah's Democratic paper, the *Salt Lake Herald*, called Sutherland's speech "the best which has been delivered on that side of the question. . . . His speech commanded marked attention of the senate and a large audience in the galleries" who gave him "quite a remarkable ovation."⁴⁰ Even viciously partisan anti-Mormon Senator Fred T. Dubois was so impressed with Sutherland's speech that he stated on the Senate floor, "The only speech approaching fairness was made by the junior Senator from Utah [Sutherland]. He would not have dared utter what these Senators [Knox, Hopkins, and Dillingham] have on this floor. He knew the facts and they did not, and he would not have made the utterly unwarranted statements which they have. I pay that

³⁹Badger, Diary, January 22, 1907, *Liahona and Iron Rod*, 358.

⁴⁰Congratulating Senator Sutherland on his speech were Senators William Allison (R-Iowa), Nelson Aldrich (R-Rhode Island), Julius Burrows (R-Michigan), Joseph Foraker (R-Ohio), Jacob Gallinger (R-New Hampshire), Nathan Scott (R-West Virginia), Charles Fulton (R-Oregon), Francis Newlands (R-Nevada), and John Gearin (R-Oregon). "Defends Faith of Mormons," *Salt Lake Herald*, January 23, 1907.

tribute to him in passing.”⁴¹ Sutherland could be confident about his speech’s effectiveness when Thomas Kearns’s *Salt Lake Tribune*, published an inflammatory editorial: “He [Sutherland] talks like a paid defender of an accused criminal—with his fee in his pocket. . . . The speech of Senator Sutherland is a sorrow to men who believed in him and trusted him.”⁴²

As Sutherland’s biographer notes, this speech solidified his hold on the Utah electorate, while also displaying his oratory talent as an articulate, perspicacious, and lucid advocate.⁴³ As a result, Sutherland was reelected to a second term in 1910. After an interminable wait, the Smoot question was finally settled on February 20, 1907, when the Republican-dominated Senate voted. The vote was forty-two to twenty-eight in Smoot’s favor.⁴⁴ More than four years after his election in 1903, Smoot’s seat was finally secure from his colleagues.

⁴¹*U. S. Congressional Record*, 59th Congress, 2nd Session, 1906, Vol. 41, p. 3,417, February 20, 1907, p. 3,406.

⁴²“Sutherland Defends,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 23, 1907. The editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune* covering the Smoot case from Washington, D.C., was Frank J. Cannon, an outspoken critic of both Smoot and the Mormon Church. At this point, Frank, George Q. Cannon’s son, had been excommunicated on March 15, 1905, for apostasy. See my “Political Cartooning and the Reed Smoot Hearings,” *Sunstone*, Issue 144 (December 2006): 36–41.

⁴³Paschal, *Mr. Justice Sutherland*, 52.

⁴⁴Nineteen senators were absent, and Smoot was not allowed to vote. Of the fifty-eight Republicans, forty-eight voted: thirty-eight for and ten against. Of the thirty-two Democrats, twenty-two voted: four for Smoot and eighteen against. Fourteen crossed party lines: ten Republicans and four Democrats.

DANIEL S. TUTTLE: UTAH'S PIONEER EPISCOPAL BISHOP

Frederick Quinn

DANIEL S. TUTTLE IS A MAJOR and largely neglected figure in nineteenth-century American religious life. In 1867 he was appointed as first missionary bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America for the vast missionary district of Montana, Utah, and Idaho.¹ The thirty-year-old cleric was called “Bishop of Montana, having jurisdiction also in Utah and Idaho,” making him responsible for roughly 340,000 square miles, of which nearly 85,000 was in Utah. Headquartered in Salt Lake City after spending an initial winter in Montana, Tuttle emerged as a clear moral voice and evangelical presence who kept the Christian gospel as he understood it connected to his daily life and that of

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¹The corporate name of the Episcopal Church is the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. It is an autonomous province within the worldwide Anglican Communion, a confederation of thirty-eight self-governing churches under the titular head of the Archbishop of Canterbury, currently including nearly seventy million members in 164 countries, 2.3 million in the United States, and 5,000–6,000 in Utah.

*Daniel S. Tuttle, Episcopal
Missionary Bishop of
Montana, Utah, and Idaho,
1867–86.*



his Church members. In his relations with the Latter-day Saints, he represented a moderate presence for his era, applauding the LDS sense of community and strivings for personal and collective virtue, while consistently decrying its theocracy and polygamy. He was not part of the extremist religious polemics often prevalent in nineteenth-century religious discourse; and when he left Utah in 1886, the *Deseret Evening News* editorialized that he had “gained the esteem of the Mormon people without losing the respect of his own.”²

When the Mormons settled in Utah under the leadership of Brigham Young in the late 1840s, a small number of Protestants also came to Utah at that time, drawn by commerce and new industries like mining, banking, overland transportation, and the military. However, it was not until the mid-1880s that the Protestant Episcopal Church, which had been established in the eastern United States a

²*Deseret Evening News*, August 26, 1886, 2, quoted in Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West: Reminiscences of Episcopal Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle*, foreword by Brigham D. Madsen (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 356.

century earlier, turned its eye westward. Missionary districts were created in Missouri and Indiana (1835), Arkansas and the Southwest (1844), the Northwest (1860), Nebraska and Dakota (1865), and Montana, Utah, and Idaho (1866). Bishoprics for these districts were not popular posts. The Montana-Utah-Idaho Missionary District bishop's position was turned down once before it came to Tuttle; and his successors, Abiel Leonard (1886–1903), Franklin Spencer Spalding (1904–14), and Arthur W. Moulton (1920–46), also accepted the position after it had declined by others. Isolation was real, travel burdensome, funding almost nonexistent, and living conditions often unhealthy and dangerous. Tuttle compared the experience of living in Utah to living in a foreign country.³

Tuttle, who arrived by stagecoach in the summer of 1867, was the first permanent Protestant missionary to settle in Salt Lake City. His work in the last half of the nineteenth century paralleled the missionary labors of such Episcopal figures in the first half of the century as James Lloyd Breck, "The Apostle of the Wilderness" (which is how Minnesota and Wisconsin were known), Jackson Kemper, who established missions among Native Americans in Missouri, and John Henry Hobart, who worked in upstate New York. Breck, Kemper, and Hobart have been honored with places in the Episcopal Church's calendar of exemplary, heroic, or historically significant figures, as was Paul Jones, Missionary Bishop of Utah (1914–18). A strong case can be made for including Tuttle among them.

No biography of Tuttle exists, although James W. Beless Jr., diocesan chancellor in the 1960s, wrote an excellent preliminary article in 1959.⁴ Tuttle's autobiography remains a neglected American religious classic, informed by a deep spirituality and consistent vision.⁵ His eye for narrative description places him among the leading travel writers of his time. This article reconstructs Tuttle's life and activities,

³Frederick Quinn, *Building the "Goodly Fellowship of Faith": A History of the Episcopal Church in Utah, 1867–1996* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2004), 13. A small town in Idaho was named after Tuttle. Today it is little more than an auto stop on Route 84 in Gooding County, several miles northwest of Twin Falls.

⁴James W. Beless Jr., "Daniel S. Tuttle: Missionary Bishop of Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (October 1959): 357–78.

⁵*Reminiscences* has been reprinted as Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, *Mission-*

drawing not only on his autobiography, but on the voluminous archives of the Utah Episcopal Diocese and early missionary publications.⁶ Tuttle also kept a personal record book, listing all his official acts, the services he conducted, and his extensive travels throughout the West for twenty years.⁷

DANIEL S. TUTTLE'S BACKGROUND

Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, whose father was a Methodist blacksmith-farmer, was born on January 26, 1837, in Windham in upper New York state and grew up there. He became an Episcopalian as a young man under the kindly influence of the Reverend Thomas S. Judd, rector of Windham's Trinity Episcopal Church.⁸ Judd, whom Tuttle called "a second father," tutored the ten-year-old in Latin and Greek and arranged for his admission to nearby Delaware Academy

ary to the Mountain West: Reminiscences of Episcopal Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, foreword by Brigham D. Madsen (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987).

⁶Most sources on Tuttle's life are in published documents. He wrote frequent articles for *The Spirit of Missions*, the Episcopal Church's monthly missionary magazine, and each year published an annual report on the missionary district's activities. Most of Tuttle's reports and official papers are in the Diocesan Archives, Mss 426, in Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City (hereafter Diocesan Archives). Some other papers are in the Church's national archives, Episcopal Seminary of the Southwest, Austin, Texas. The General Theological Seminary and Pierpont Morgan libraries in New York City have several Tuttle letters, but they are mostly routine official correspondence. Tuttle's memoir draws heavily on his letters to his wife, Harriet, during the initial eighteen months they were separated after he arrived in Salt Lake City in 1867. She must have written to him as well, but efforts to find the letters in several states have proven fruitless. I also found very few reports of non-LDS sermons in Salt Lake newspapers.

⁷Daniel S. Tuttle, 1866–86, "Episcopal Register," Protestant Episcopal Church. This personal log book contains almost no narrative content, so I do not quote it in this article, but I contributed a duplicate copy to the Diocesan Archives, Marriott Library.

⁸"Bishop Tuttle's Boyhood Church," *The Spirit of Missions*, January 1930, 31–33. Windham was later renamed Ashland. Tuttle had an older brother, Lemuel, a blacksmith, to whom he was close, but who remained in Windham, where he died unmarried in 1870.

at Delhi. Tuttle paid for his room and board by milking cows and doing farm chores. He then entered Columbia College in New York City as a second-year student and graduated in 1857, second in his class.⁹

Although Tuttle had worked his way through college by tutoring students in classics and mathematics and originally hoped to be a teacher, he also had a deep interest in the Church. Tuttle entered the Episcopalian General Theological Seminary in New York City in 1856 and graduated in 1862. A classmate at General, George W. Foote, was the son of the Reverend George L. Foote, rector or pastor at Zion Church in Morris, 230 miles northwest of New York City. Young Foote invited Tuttle to visit Morris where Foote's father had suffered a paralytic stroke. Tuttle was appointed assistant minister on August 23, 1862. Tuttle and George W. Foote were relatives on both sides of their families; Foote's mother's maiden name was Tuttle, and his father and Daniel's father were first cousins, but young Daniel did not know the extended family.

An active parish of more than two hundred members, Zion Church combined farmers and merchants, old families and new. After the elder Foote's death in November 1863, Tuttle was named his successor at a salary of \$800 a year. Seven calls came quickly from other parishes, some offering to almost double his salary, but Tuttle liked Morris and stayed there for five years. On September 12, 1864, he married his mentor's eldest child, Harriet E., four years younger than himself.¹⁰

The portrait that emerges of Tuttle in these critical Morris years is that of a sensitive pastor, clear writer, and physically vigorous young man, centered in his faith and confident in his manner. In his autobiography, he comments: "Morris made me strong physically."¹¹ Under the Church's horse-shed, the then-equivalent of a parking lot, he worked out on a set of parallel bars and each summer afternoon swam in a nearby millpond. Even practice preaching was a fresh-air activity: "Between two trees, almost joined together at the root, I set up a rude pulpit board, and there every Saturday I spread out my sermon for the next day, and preached it, loud and full, with the birds for listeners," he wrote. "The exercise helped my voice.

⁹Quinn, *Building the "Goodly Fellowship of Faith,"* 2.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 15.

Emphasis took to itself right inflections. Eye and hand and bodily posture familiarized themselves with their duties and adjusted themselves to the ways of most efficient work.”¹² Then, and later as a traveling missionary bishop, Tuttle seemed indefatigable; in twenty-seven years of ministry he missed only two Sunday services because of illness.¹³

Tuttle’s thirteen months with the senior Foote were also formative to his spiritual growth. Foote, an accomplished pastor, freely shared the experiences of his long, productive ministry with his eager young assistant; and during these months, Tuttle’s outlook on the church and ministry took shape. Later he would summarize his view of the pastor’s role:

If children love him, and women respect him, and men have confidence in him; if the happy are happier to welcome him among them, and the sorrowful lighter in heart, more hopeful of the future, and stronger for duty, by his coming, if he is a prophet among them in the true sense of the word, that is, one speaking for God and the realities of the world invisible, then it seems to me, the daily life and pastoral conserve of such a man of God with his flock will contribute far more to their spiritual advancement than any special efforts he can make as priest of the Church or preacher of the Word.¹⁴

Although Tuttle rarely spoke of his own family, he had a strong interest in ministering to children, prepared an annual letter to children, and, in his 1879 bishop’s address, told his fellow clergy:

Master their names, brother Minister mine, and get at their hearts, all you can. Speak to them on the streets; show your interest in them; and let them grow to know and like you as an example, a teacher, a friend, and a kind of big brother of their own. Meet them in their homes; gather them into your Sunday school; teach them faithfully there. Nay, more, if I may press it upon you, visit painstakingly their day schools. Let the children see your kindly face there more than once. It will be to their happiness, and to the teacher’s encouragement. I would like to lay it down for a law. Let not any pastor allow the public school or schools in his cure to go unvisited a single session. . . . Out of your looks, your smiles, your words, your acts, will flow into the children’s lives influences that will beget more natural good than any one

¹²Ibid., 17–18.

¹³Ibid., 15.

¹⁴Ibid., 3.

thing, probably, that you do.”¹⁵

Tuttle’s interest in children and his strong pastoral inclinations further emerge in two private letters, one to a person with questions about attending church, the second to a child. Both were written after he had become Bishop of Missouri in 1886 but reflect sentiments evident during his time in Utah. Simple and clear, they represent a summary of Tuttle the pastor in action:

Dear Friend:

Human life is a puzzle. The Ten Commandments plainly tell us what not to do; the New Testament teaches what to do; and the Lord’s Prayer graciously shows us where to go to get the strength not to do and the power to do. But the puzzle does not clear up.

Well, let it alone. In the give and take of life we are obliged to leave many things uncleared.

But when you try to think things out, you mean in the main, I take it, to do right and to be right. If Yes, please let me ask you to come to church and to make a habit of coming to church. So you will keep the Lord’s Day holy as He commands. So you will find yourself in company with people who, in spite of uncleared puzzles, are trying to do right and be right. So you will work unspeakable benefit to children, boys especially, in leading them to keep the Lord’s Day holy, and to practice talking to God in prayer and praises.

Faithfully and affectionately yours,
Daniel S. Tuttle¹⁶

In the second letter, addressed to an unnamed “dear child,” he writes:

You go to Sunday school. I am real glad of that. I should like to think that all boys and girls of Missouri go to Sunday school. But if there are some that do not go, won’t you pick out one boy or girl of your acquaintance and ask him or her to come to Sunday school. And don’t give up. Keep on asking him or her to come. If each present Sunday school scholar were to bring one new one in, don’t you see how our number in attendance would be quite doubled?

¹⁵Daniel S. Tuttle, “Convention Address,” *Journal of the Annual Convocation of the Clergy and Laity of the Missionary District of Montana, Idaho, and Utah, Held in St. Paul’s Church, Virginia City, Montana, July 13-14, 1879*, 15, Diocesan Records, 426, Box 1, fd 1.

¹⁶Daniel S. Tuttle, Letter to unnamed recipient, n.d., photocopy of holograph, Diocesan Archives.

One here, one there, one yonder,—one by one, one by one, one
by one—what a lot all of the ones would make!

Won't you please take hold and help us?

Faithfully and affectionately yours,

Daniel S. Tuttle¹⁷

The tranquil life of this upstate New York rural parson changed abruptly. On October 5, 1866, three months short of age thirty, required for the election of a bishop, the Church's House of Bishops named Tuttle a missionary bishop, the youngest person in the history of the Episcopal Church in America ever elected to that post.¹⁸ The House of Bishops was small, with fewer than thirty members in 1860. Although no record has survived of the decision-making process, the western district was authorized in 1866 and another nominee declined to accept it. It seems probable that colleagues asked New York's Bishop Horatio Potter to recommend a strong, self-reliant younger candidate; and Potter suggested Tuttle, who had tutored his sons, spent summer vacations with the Potter family, and was doing excellent work in a sizable rural parish.¹⁹

The bishops' 1866 decision had subdivided the previous huge missionary "Northwest" district, which included Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, the Dakotas, Montana, and Idaho. Only one Episcopal church existed, in Boise, Idaho, but it had no resident clergy.²⁰ The Episcopal Church at that time had two types of bishops: diocesan bishops who were elected to preside over established geographical units, often comprising a state or part of a state and missionary bishops who were nominated by the House of Bishops and confirmed by the House of Deputies, the Church's two governing bodies, to administer domestic or foreign regions where the Church was not yet adequately established. It was not until 1971 that the missionary districts were finally made into independent dioceses.

Tuttle was consecrated bishop on May 1, 1867, in Trinity Chapel, New York City, commencing what would become a nearly

¹⁷Daniel S. Tuttle, Letter to unnamed recipient, n.d., photocopy of holograph, Diocesan Archives.

¹⁸Charles F. Rehkopf, "The Episcopate of Bishop Tuttle," *Missouri State Historical Society Bulletin* 28, no. 3 (April 1962): 207.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 42.

²⁰Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 24.

fifty-six-year episcopate. Tuttle was in frequent contact with New York City's leading Episcopal churches and influential monied leaders. Trinity Chapel, on lower Fifth Avenue, was designed by Richard Upjohn in 1850. Perhaps the most famous church architect of his era, Upjohn would be Tuttle's choice as architect of St. Mark's Cathedral in Salt Lake City two decades later. Trinity had more than 600 communicants in 1874 and was one of Tuttle's stops on speaking-fundraising trips back East.²¹ The day after his consecration, he preached at another significant church, St. Paul's Chapel, where he had spent six years as a parishioner while in college and eventually served as the church's Sunday School superintendent.

George Washington had attended services there following his inauguration as president in 1780. The old wooden altar cross from St. Paul's was given to Tuttle when the church was remodeled, and he placed it in the mission church of St. Paul's, Virginia City, Montana. He also carried a small wooden cross on his watch-chain carved from the pew where Washington worshipped. It was at St. Paul's that Tuttle met another Sunday School teacher, Jane Mount, who left him \$10,000 in her will to build a church. A similar sum was donated by her surviving sisters, Maria, Charlotte, and Susan, allowing the construction of the original St. Paul's Church built in 1880 in Salt Lake City at the corner of Main Street and Fourth South. The Mounts also contributed money for rectories (houses for clergy families) to be built for St. Paul's in Salt Lake City and Ogden's Good Shepherd Church.

Tuttle spent his first nineteen years as bishop in the West, followed by thirty-seven years in Missouri, and concluded his career with almost two decades as Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States (1903–23), which came to him through seniority and was at that time a largely ceremonial position, requiring the incumbent to preside over Church conventions and meetings. After leaving Utah, Tuttle returned to the state several times for brief interims between bishops. He participated in the consecration of four of his successors, the burial of one, and the removal of another, Paul

²¹Gradually, the Trinity congregation moved elsewhere as its neighborhood became increasingly commercial. In 1944 it was sold and became the Serbian Orthodox Church of St. Sava.

Jones, a Christian socialist and pacifist during World War I.²²

Commenting on the thirty-year-old bishop's new assignment, a Church publication remarked: "Bishop Tuttle goes forth as the fifth Missionary Bishop west of the Mississippi. . . . Full of youthful vigor and elasticity, and thoroughly wonted to country life, he will bear fatigue, exposure, and peril as the natural incidents of his career."²³ It was an apt description of what lay ahead.

TUTTLE'S TRIP WEST AS MISSIONARY BISHOP

The new bishop needed clergy to go west with him and called in his chips, principally among his New York State friends and neighboring clergy. An advance party that included his brother-in-law, George W. Foote, and Thomas W. Haskins, a recent seminary graduate and friend of Foote's, left for Salt Lake City on April 5, 1867, a month before Tuttle's consecration. "After detentions and perils from floods and snows," they arrived in Utah Territory in early May.²⁴

Tuttle headed west a month later, saying goodbye to his wife and eight-month old son, George, on May 23, 1867, in Albany, New York. He would not see them for eighteen months.²⁵ Tuttle's closeness to his wife over thirty-five years of marriage is evident throughout his career, and some of his most vivid accounts of life in Utah are contained in his letters to her during these months of separation.

Accompanying Tuttle were the Reverend E. N. Goddard,

²²Quinn, *Building the "Goodly Fellowship of Faith,"* 115–21.

²³"The Consecration of Bishop Tuttle," *The Spirit of Missions*, June 1867, 413.

²⁴Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 40.

²⁵The Tuttle family had seven children: (1) George, born September 21, 1866, in Morris, New York, became a physician in St. Louis, Missouri; (2) Herbert was born on June 14, 1869, in Helena, Montana; (3) Arthur Lemuel was born in Salt Lake City October 30, 1870, became a mining engineer in Mexico, and died in 1912; (4–5) twins were born on January 26, 1873; the son, Howard, died of unrecorded causes three months later; the daughter, Katharine, died on August 20, 1873, of whooping cough; (6) Harriett was born in Salt Lake City on March 8, 1872; and (7) Christine, was born in Salt Lake City on February 21, 1875, and died in 1922. Arthur, Howard, Katharine, and Christine are buried in Mount Olivet Cemetery, Salt Lake City.

from a nearby parish in New York State and the Reverend G. D. B. Miller, also from a nearby parish and married to Mary T. Foote, Harriet Tuttle's sister. Goddard would work in Salt Lake City, Miller in Boise. The remainder of the party included George Foote's wife and George's fifteen-year old sister, Sarah, who taught in a Church school in Utah.

The Tuttle party took the Union Pacific Railroad to its terminus at North Platte, Nebraska, arriving on June 4, 1867, after a tiring and adventurous trip. Here they were delayed by reports of hostile Native Americans. "We stayed five days in the crowded, hastily constructed, high-priced hotel in North Platte," Tuttle wrote. "We could get only one bedroom appropriated to us, so the two clergymen slept on their blankets on the office floor. Each night after the ladies had retired I lay down on the floor in their room with a blanket and a pillow, my revolver under the latter. The novelty of sleeping on the floor or on the ground wore off in later years, for hundreds and hundreds of my night rests have been taken that way."²⁶

Next the party continued by stagecoach to Denver where the new bishop, sobered by reports of an ambushed stagecoach, the death of its driver, and the escape of another Episcopal clergyman, added a rifle to his revolver and wrote his last will and testament. They pressed on, leaving Denver June 26 and arriving in Salt Lake City on the evening of July 2. Tuttle's first dispatch from his new destination vividly described the trip: "We rode day and night until Friday noon, having for more than a hundred and fifty miles through the hostile country an escort of three cavalrymen. It seemed very strange to look out of the coach on moonlight nights and see the horses and armed riders galloping by our side. In less dangerous countries our escort consisted of only one rifle-armed man sitting beside the driver. Every night at dusk I felt very nervous, for dusk and daybreak are the favorite times to attack."²⁷

The last twenty-five miles were "the grandest and strangest" as the party threaded through the Wasatch Range. It was July, but mountaintops were still covered with snow. On the road, they passed hundreds of loggers moving into the mountains for tim-

²⁶*Missionary to the Mountain West*, 67.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 85.

ber.²⁸ Haskins, who met the party, was quite taken aback at sight of my cartridge pouch in front, my pistol behind, my trousers in my boots, and my dark features. He declares that he thought the driver had a brother of the reins and whip beside him, and did not recognize me at all.”²⁹

The weary, dusty party made its first stop at an establishment called Clawson’s bathrooms “for a delicious bathe, which cost us seventy-five cents each. Then we came here to the Revere House for tea,” a meal made memorable by fresh garden produce: “A full pint of luscious strawberries was placed in front of each of us. O how good were the new potatoes, and green peas, and string beans, and fresh turnips we had for dinner today.”³⁰

Three days later, on July 5, 1867, Tuttle wrote Harriet, now back in Morris, describing a city with “streets straight and wide, rills of irrigating water running along the sides to refresh the growing shade trees . . . yards and gardens filled with peach, apple and apricot trees, of grapes, and all vegetables.” Almost every family had a cow, and the city’s herd-boy, for three cents per day per head, “drives them all over to the river every morning, and watches them and brings them back at night. . . . This morning as I arose, the herd-boy, dinner pail in hand, was driving more than two hundred cows along in front of the Revere House to cross the Jordan.”³¹

Tuttle looked the part of a rugged missionary bishop. Period photographs show him with an athlete’s build, strong features, a firm jaw, and deep-set eyes. He enjoyed robust health, and undue introspection and melancholy were not features of his personality. Still, despite his rugged exterior, Tuttle acknowledged, a decade into his episcopacy, “Anxiety possesses our hearts, and care chisels some lines on our faces, in planning and working to keep our obligations met and things vigorously moving on.”³²

During his next nineteen years in Utah, Montana, and Idaho, Tuttle traveled more than an estimated 40,000 miles by horse, stagecoach, or railroad, crossing empty plains, burning deserts,

²⁸Ibid., 89.

²⁹Ibid., 90.

³⁰Ibid., 90.

³¹Ibid., 107.

³²“Eleventh Annual Report of the Missionary Bishop of Montana, Idaho, and Utah,” 1888, 3.

rocky roads, and snow-filled passes. He was well known to stagecoach drivers along his routes, one of whom told him, "You'd a' made a good stage coach driver, sure, if you'd 'a' started young enough!"³³ He held services in nineteen Utah towns, fifty-two in Montana, and fifty in Idaho. After fourteen years, Montana became a separate missionary district in 1880, but demands on his time in northern Utah and Idaho were substantial. Tuttle's first trip south of Salt Lake City was in 1873, when he briefly visited Beaver and where a preaching station was established from 1873 to 1885. In 1880, he visited Silver Reef, Utah, eighteen miles north of St. George, where a small mission church existed from 1880 to 1893.

Bishop Tuttle spent several months each year traveling by stagecoach or, after 1869, by train. The main stagecoach route was between Salt Lake City and Colliston, in Box Elder County, Utah; there it divided into roads leading to Boise, Idaho, and Helena, Montana. Floods were common. Twice Tuttle crawled from overturned coaches, and once he was chased by a grizzly bear.³⁴ He was not reluctant to intervene in cases of misbehavior and tells of riding in a stagecoach when "a so-called doctor . . . by manner and act was insulting to a colored woman in the coach. . . . I reprov'd him, and when he repeated the offense, I shook him soundly. At the next station, he got out and slunk entirely away from our sight."³⁵

Tuttle's reports are consistent in their message throughout these years. First came a statement of hope and a specific enumeration of needs, such as the cost of buildings, salaries, or scholarships. Next, he thanked his donors, giving the amount of their donations, such as the Diocese of New York's contribution of \$1,412.43, Pennsylvania \$176, and Massachusetts \$28. Total funds raised in 1868, Tuttle's first year as bishop, were \$10,809. The sums and donors changed little through the years. He summarized his perspective in 1868: "My needs are, much money for our Salt Lake work; considerable money for the general work; good men to

³³Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 411.

³⁴"Another Letter from Bishop Tuttle," *The Spirit of Missions*, October 1867, 69.

³⁵Brigham H. Madsen, introduction to Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 2.

help us to preach the blessed Gospel.”³⁶ The files of missionary bishops like Tuttle contain many letters that begin, “Thank you for your generous contribution of . . . ” \$1, \$3 or \$5.

Great Salt Lake City was a town of twelve to fifteen thousand inhabitants in the late 1860s, when Tuttle arrived, Provo had three to four thousand residents, and Ogden and Logan claimed a thousand each. Ogden became a major western railroad center in 1869 with the coming of the transcontinental railroad. The region’s non-Mormon population, whom the LDS called “Gentiles,” was estimated at a thousand. About two hundred were employed by the stagecoach; others were merchants, miners, traders, and government officials.³⁷ Such members of other faiths were the base from which the missionary district drew its core membership, although former Mormons, especially former Church of England members who converted and emigrated, also formed a substantial fraction as they returned to their original faith.

Members of Tuttle’s party were not the first Episcopal clerics to set foot in Utah, but they were the first to stay. An English clergyman, on his way across the country, had been invited to speak in the Salt Lake Tabernacle several years earlier; and another Episcopal missionary bishop, J. C. Talbot, had passed through Salt Lake City during the Civil War, but was not allowed to preach in the open air, nor would anyone rent him a house in which to hold services.³⁸ Bishop Talbot on his stagecoach journey to Nevada “had eaten a few meals in Utah and that was all,” Tuttle reported in 1917.³⁹

The U.S. Army built Camp (later Fort) Douglas in 1862 on a strategic bench overlooking Salt Lake City. Its responsibilities were to protect the overland mail and telegraph routes from attacks by Native Americans and to keep an eye on the Mormons, who were suspected of secessionist tendencies.⁴⁰ Norman McLeod, a Congregational chaplain attached to the military post led Protestant Church services in 1865–66 and preached periodically at Independ-

³⁶“Report of the Bishop of Montana, Idaho, and Utah,” 1868, 15.

³⁷Tuttle, *Missionary in the Mountain West*, 102.

³⁸“Report of the Bishop of Montana, Idaho, and Utah,” 1868, 24; Daniel S. Tuttle, “On the Shores of the Great Salt Lake,” *The Spirit of Missions*, July 1912, 512.

³⁹Bishop (Daniel S.) Tuttle, “How Our Church Came to Montana, Idaho, and Utah,” *The Spirit of Missions*, September 17, 1917, 636.

⁴⁰“A Brief History of Fort Douglas,” <http://www.facilities.utah.edu/>

ence Hall, an adobe building on Third South near Main Street that served as a non-LDS meeting and cultural center. Completed in 1865, it housed several civic and literary groups, including a “Gentile” Young Men’s Literary Association and the Women’s National Antipolygamy Society. It was also a temporary home to Episcopal, Methodist, Congregationalist, and Jewish congregations.⁴¹ After McLeod left Utah, in October 1866 land speculator and physician J. King Robinson, who was also McLeod’s Sunday School superintendent, was lured from his house and murdered and his property gutted. The assailants were never found; but according to Tuttle, “No punishment of this world has followed this wickedness, no trace of the murderer or murderers, on which incriminatory action could be taken, from that day to this has ever been found. It suffices to remark that the machineries for pursuit, prosecution, and penalty were all in the hands of the Mormons, and that they regarded Dr. Robinson as their deadly foe.”⁴²

When Foote and Haskins arrived in early May 1867, they found a functioning Sunday School of fifty to sixty persons and three women communicants, Mrs. J. F. (Fidelia) Hamilton, Mrs. O. (Augusta) Durant, and Mrs. T. F. (May) Tracy. For the next four years, the Episcopalians held the only regular Protestant services in Utah. In a letter to his wife, Harriet, on July 7, 1867, Tuttle described the morning service he had just attended at Independence Hall:

There was a congregation, I should think, of about a hundred. Mrs. Hamilton played the Mason & Hamlin [organ] that the church people have purchased, and we have all the chants but the Te Deum. Mr. Goddard took the first part of the service, Mr. Haskins the latter. I read the ante-communion, and George [Foote] the epistle, and Mr. Miller preached a capitally good sermon from: “That My joy may be in you, and that your joy may be full.” The offertory alms amounted to \$15.75. George gave notice of confirmation and communion for next Sunday.⁴³

fd/history/history.html (accessed November 13, 2006).

⁴¹T. Edgar Lyon and Glen M. Leonard, “The Churches in the Territory,” in *Utah’s History*, edited by Richard D. Poll, Thomas G. Alexander, Eugene E. Campbell, and David E. Miller (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1989), 424.

⁴²Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 103–4.

Other religious groups followed the Episcopalians. Roman Catholic missionaries with the Domínguez-Escalante expedition had first contacted Utah's Native Americans in 1776. In 1871 a Catholic parish, St. Mary Magdalene, was built in Salt Lake City. A Presbyterian Church was founded in Salt Lake City the same year. Methodists, who had been established in Corrine since 1869, eventually built forty-one churches and twenty-six schools in Utah. In 1881 Baptists became a presence and, by statehood in 1896, had built nine churches and four schools. The Congregationalists, founded by McLeod and his successors in Utah, had fifteen churches functioning in the state by 1893. A Unitarian society was organized in Salt Lake City in 1891.⁴⁴

By September 1869, after lengthy sojourns in Montana and Idaho, Tuttle had settled in Salt Lake City with his family, who had recently arrived. It remained their residence until 1886. In 1883 he reported, "St. Mark's Rectory, which is my own residence, has been improved by the addition of a bathroom, and by the building of a much needed barn."⁴⁵

On October 8, 1867, Tuttle, Foote, and Haskins published an appeal aimed at eastern donors: "A strange community we are living among; a strange social atmosphere environs us. . . . Increasing thousands of children are growing up in this Territory, who have never heard of any other religion than the Mormon; who know nothing of any other social system than polygamy." The church's great need was \$15,000 to purchase a site on which to build a school: "The great feature of the work is the teaching and training of the children."⁴⁶

Tuttle made periodic trips back east to raise funds, a crucial part of the work of any such missionary leader. Other missionaries and missionary bishops were making similar rounds, often appealing to

⁴³Daniel Tuttle, Letter to Harriet Tuttle, July 7, 1867, quoted in *ibid.*, 108.

⁴⁴Lyon and Leonard, "The Churches in the Territory," 328-29.

⁴⁵"The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Missionary Bishop of Utah and Idaho," November and December 1883, 3.

⁴⁶"Dear Christian Brethren," Salt Lake City, October 8, 1867, Dalglish Collection, Daniel S. Tuttle, Bishop 1867-86, Diocesan Archives. These documents were found in the basement of the diocesan offices and transferred to the Diocesan Archives in the Marriott Library but had not been processed at the time this article was written.



St. Paul's Chapel, Salt Lake City.

the same audiences. In 1884 Tuttle spent seven months and in 1885 four months visiting eastern parishes, giving talks, and meeting with potential donors. He also traveled each year to Montana and Idaho. In 1874, he spent nine weeks in Montana, three months in 1876, and six months worth of visits in 1880. It was a pattern his successors followed, and often they, as he did, reported donations lagging far behind needs: "I was received most kindly and welcomed most cordially everywhere, and generous aid was ministered to our wants," he told a Boise convocation in 1884. "Not to the degree, I must honestly say, adequate to those wants. But, it may be as honestly said, perhaps to the degree that may be best and most wholesome for us." Speaking "as one who has seen the givers of the east and knows their views, their habits, and their wishes," he cautioned the struggling western church: "It is not wise in us to act upon the expectation that eastern gifts will come to us."⁴⁷

Eastern churches looked on the American West at that time much as they would on China, Africa, or South America, inviting mis-

⁴⁷*Journal of the Second Annual Convocation of the Missionary District of Utah and Idaho, St. Michael's Church, Boise City, Idaho, June 18-19, 1884*, 14, Diocesan Archives, Mss. 426, Box 1, fd. 1.

sionary speakers to tell their stories and supporting missions with money, supplies, and personnel. Such personal relationships continued for over a century by various missionary bishops and were a lifeline of support for the Episcopal Church in Utah.

The initial results of the Church's activity set the tone for a pattern of slow, steady growth. In its first sixteen months in Utah, there were seventy-three baptisms, thirty-one confirmations, forty-four registered communicants, five marriages, eleven burials, 150 young people in Sunday Schools, thirteen teachers, a hundred students in a grammar school with six teachers, and local contributions of \$3,970.⁴⁸

BISHOP TUTTLE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MORMONS

The historical records show only a single encounter between the Episcopal bishop and the LDS Church president, a perfunctory exchange a week after Tuttle's arrival. Because Tuttle made some kindly observations about Young following that meeting, modern observers might see cordial relations between the two churches as the norm in Utah in the 1860s, especially in contrast to the more volatile and activist attitudes between the Latter-day Saints and other Protestants. It would be more accurate, however, to characterize the relationship between the two groups as disengaged—polite but distant.

On July 9, 1867, Tuttle called on Brigham Young in company with George Foote and Warren Hussey, a recently arrived business entrepreneur and Episcopal lay leader. In a letter to Tuttle before his arrival in Utah, Hussey said that Young was tired of the abuse heaped on the Mormons and welcomed Episcopalians who "are men of education and better sense; they are gentlemen and any gentleman is welcome here, no matter what his creed." Foote and Haskins had already asked Young for a school site. Young had promised to help, Foote said,

⁴⁸"Report of the Bishop of Montana, Idaho, and Utah," April 1869, 264. Both infants and adults may be baptized into membership in the Episcopal Church, but a baptized person is different from a registered communicant. Communicant members are adults who contribute financially and who receive communion (the "eucharist" or sometimes the "sacrament"). Most Episcopal churches practice open communion, welcoming all baptized persons of any denomination or those who seek Jesus in their lives, to receive the bread and wine of the communion service or to receive a blessing.

but “his promises of assistance were hollow and hypocritical.”⁴⁹

Tuttle recorded the brief meeting: “As we neared the gate he was coming out, comfortably dressed in white coat and vest and linen trousers . . . good watch-chain, umbrella under his arm, light gaiters on his feet. He has a pleasant face and voice, is somewhat corpulent in person, is of medium height, and has gray eyes, sandy whiskers, and light brown hair.”⁵⁰ Had there been a mix-up about the time of the visit? If Young had been expecting Tuttle, he would not be leaving his office since he made a point of being accessible to visitors. Or if the Episcopalian party was calling without an appointment, it suggests a mere courtesy call, not the expectation of a substantive meeting, which the discussion of a school site would have involved.

Young returned with his guests to his office, which reminded Tuttle of a lawyer’s chambers, filled with iron safes, tables, and hundreds of pigeonholes stuffed with documents. After exchanging pleasantries about where they were born in the East, Foote remarked positively on the recent Fourth of July celebration, which reminded him that Utah was part of the wider United States. “Perhaps so,” Young replied, “but they rather seem to me to be the Disunited States, for I see by the morning telegrams that the most rigorous military despotism is to be enforced in the south.”⁵¹

Most of the recorded conversation was between Young and Foote, with Tuttle as an observer. Young showed Tuttle a sample of Green River gold, then remarked to Foote in such a way as to indicate that he was aware of town gossip. “I am told that you have heard it said that I have taken the property of Amasa Lyman,” an apostle who was feuding with Young. “Is it so?” Foote denied being the source of such gossip. Young persisted, “Two ladies told me that this report was made and that you were present and heard it.” “No,” Foote replied, “I have heard no such report, perhaps Mr. Haskins may have been the man, but it was not I.” Young ended the conversation, “Mr. Foote, I just want to say to you what I said to the Catholic priest when he came here; if you hear rumors flying about touching me or this people, come right here with them and I will always set things right. That’s the

⁴⁹Warren Hussey, Letter to Daniel S. Tuttle, March 13, 1867, quoted in Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 371.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 112.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 113.

best way.”⁵² Possibly the LDS leader was setting the record straight; perhaps he was warning Foote.

Apparently the meeting ended at this point. Tuttle put a good face on it: “We were most civilly and courteously treated in this call, but I was not asked to call again. In voice and conversation and manner Mr. Young seemed pleasant and courteous and far less coarse than when he is speaking in public. I did not detect any violation of grammar or of good sense or of good taste on his part during our call.”⁵³

Tuttle was more graphic in expressing his opinion of the LDS leader in a letter to Harriet: “He is so powerful a man in everything here, and so unscrupulous a man, I fear, in most things, that my policy will be to have as little as possible to do with him. With his keen sightedness he must know, that if not in will yet in reality, by our services and our school, we are putting our clutches to his very throat.”⁵⁴ Elsewhere the bishop called Young, “shrewd, practical, industrious, energetic, temperate to the degree of abstemiousness,” adding “he was conscious of fitness to rule, and others unhesitatingly accorded him leadership.”⁵⁵ There is no record that Young ever paid a return call on Tuttle, nor is there a record in LDS Church Archives of Young’s impressions of this meeting.

Brigham Young’s leadership and the numerical superiority of the Mormons in Utah was a reality that Tuttle had to deal with. “Doubtless the question will be asked, What think you of Mormonism?” Tuttle wrote in his first report as a missionary bishop in 1867 in *The Spirit of Missions*, the national Episcopal Church’s missionary monthly magazine. The answer he gave then he repeated word for word nineteen years later when he left Utah: “I needed not to have come to Utah, to think and know that Mormonism, so far as it has any fixed theology about it, is a wild heresy; in its practical operation, a deluder of ignorant people; in its allowed system of polygamy, illegal, immoral, cruel, and infamous.”⁵⁶

Although he accepted the validity of LDS baptism, “we cannot admit them to our altar” for communion, Tuttle said, because “they

⁵²Ibid., 114.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Daniel Tuttle, Letter to Harriet Tuttle, July 10, 1862, quoted in *ibid.*

⁵⁵Ibid., 331.

⁵⁶“Report of Bishop Tuttle to the Board of Missions,” 1867, 50, Missouri Diocese.

admit so much pernicious error into their doctrine that it would not be fit for an evangelical Church to affiliate with them.”⁵⁷ Tuttle’s policy on Mormon baptism reflected an evolution in his own thought. Initially, he had insisted that LDS members joining the Episcopal Church be rebaptized, but gradually changed his views. This crucial incident was when a mature woman convert sought confirmation, which, in the Episcopal tradition, represented both a sacramental strengthening through the Holy Spirit and a public affirmation of her faith. However, she insisted on the validity of her original LDS baptism, undertaken by loving, thoughtfully religious parents. Tuttle pondered the issue, writing several other Episcopal bishops and theologians for their views. He concluded that, while he had reservations about LDS baptism, it was valid. Tuttle wrote:

I came to the conclusion that as Christian baptism is the Savior’s appointed sacrament, so He may be in a certain sense regarded as the real baptizer (St. Augustine somewhat puts it this way), and that the sacrament is valid when there are three things present: (1) Water applied to the person of the recipient. (2) The scriptural formula recited. (3) Seriousness of intent to obey a divine ordinance. Therefore we recognize Mormon baptism, though hypothetically baptizing any convert if he or she desired. The lady spoken of was confirmed.⁵⁸

In the late nineteenth century, religious differences were sharply stated from the pulpit and in the press. Tuttle and some of his successors could strike a responsive chord with potential donors by portraying the severity of the Mormon challenge. Of the early Episcopal bishops, Tuttle and Franklin Spencer Spalding (1904–14) were the most vocal in their public criticism of the Latter-day Saints, with Paul Jones (1914–18) not far behind. Later bishops, such as Arthur W. Moulton (1920–46) and Otis Charles (1971–86) sought actively to promote positive relations with their LDS counterparts.

For example, Tuttle wrote of the “monstrous Mormon delusion” in several articles in *The Spirit of Missions*, adding, “May the Lord speed its downfall, despotic, treason-breeding, woman-debasing,

⁵⁷Quoted in Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 153.

⁵⁸Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 337–38.

soul-destroying thing that it is!”⁵⁹ Of the LDS Church’s hierarchy, Bishop Tuttle conceded: “[It] must be acknowledged to be a power with tremendous and terrible possibilities enwrapped in it.”⁶⁰ He added, shortly before he left Utah in 1886, “Mormon priestly domination is un-American and anti-American. By all Americans it should be firmly opposed. But let the instruments and weapons of opposition be reason, argument, education, enlightenment, influence, persuasive truth. In my years of contention with the Mormons I did not feel at liberty to use any other weapons.”⁶¹

The bishop warned that Church members should not expect the Latter-day Saints to convert easily. In 1873 he reported that the Episcopal Church had baptized 244 persons, of whom 144 were Mormons or their children.⁶² “We are in a foreign country,” he said of Utah in 1876. Brigham Young was ill and Tuttle, like his successor Abiel Leonard, erroneously predicted that the LDS Church would come apart with Young’s death.⁶³ “[Mormonism] is not so arrogant as it once was,” Tuttle said in his 1885 annual report, when the federal government was implementing the strictures of the Edmunds Act (1882). “A wholesome dread pervades the breasts of the guilty ones that the American government firmly intends to prosecute its present enforcement of the penalties against polygamy.” John Taylor, Brigham Young’s successor, and George Q. Cannon, his first counselor, were in hiding. “There is much joy with us that the government is causing the majesty of the law to be respected,” the bishop concluded.⁶⁴ Such statements leave no doubt that Tuttle decried Mormonism as a religious movement.

However, in a lengthy historical article in 1891, the year after the Woodruff Manifesto withdrawing support for new plural mar-

⁵⁹“Report of Bishop Tuttle,” 1870, Microfilm copy without exact publication dates, Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Missouri (hereafter Missouri Diocese).

⁶⁰Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 355.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 354–55.

⁶²“What the Church Is Doing for the Mormons in Salt Lake City,” *The Spirit of Missions*, May 1873, 343.

⁶³“Tenth Annual Report of the Missionary Bishop of Montana and Utah, 1876, 2, Missouri Diocese. Young died in August 1877.

⁶⁴“The Nineteenth Annual Report of the Missionary Bishop of Utah and Idaho,” 1886, 575, Missouri Diocese.

riages, Tuttle was more positive than many writers of the time, "It is a mistake to count the Mormons a mere horde of sensualized barbarians. . . . There were large numbers of God-fearing people among them, the exodus from Nauvoo had served as a winnowing van. Temperate, heroic, striving individuals emerged," he said, but the "strong demand for obedience to the priesthood changes fair-minded and kindhearted men into unjust and unfeeling agents of a despotic system."⁶⁵

STRATEGY ON SCHOOLS

Education was the linchpin of Tuttle's strategy for Church growth. He was trained as a teacher and saw the Church expanding not by confronting the Latter-day Saints, but by building schools to educate a generation of newcomers to Utah and in which Utah children might be exposed to a wider world. In addition to the children of LDS converts from England, other students came from the growing number of Protestants moving into Utah with the expansion of mining, railroads, and other businesses. In what has become the best-known single quotation from Tuttle's writings, he said: "Out from the training in church schools may emerge in most wholesome manner and degree, faith that is not afraid to reason and reason that is not ashamed to adore."⁶⁶

This focus on education responded to an obvious need in Utah life. Originally Young favored only a rudimentary education for young Mormons, limited to basic literacy, to which was added animal husbandry, commerce, and bookkeeping. Utah's public education system was a scattering of elementary schools run from LDS wards. A vote on a public school system was defeated four-to-one in 1874, and it was not until 1890 that the Collett bill was passed, creating a public school system.⁶⁷

Predictably, LDS leaders were critical of the Episcopal Church's schools. An editorial in the *Deseret News* in 1872 commented that

⁶⁵Daniel S. Tuttle, "Mormons," in *A Religious Encyclopedia*, edited by Philip Schaff, Samuel M. Jackson and D. S. Schaff (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1891), 1,580.

⁶⁶Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 361.

⁶⁷Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History*, rev. ed (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 335.

Tuttle was on a “begging tour in the East” to raise money for scholarships, adding, “The Bishop is a sly dog . . . but he has thus let out the thinness and hypocrisy” of his position on schools. Their success was “almost entirely with fledglings, the old birds being too wary to be caught with his chaff.”⁶⁸

Tuttle planned to start with parish day schools and, as funding allowed, add a seminary, college, and university—but these hopeful plans never came to full fruition. He planted mission schools in Salt Lake City in 1867, Logan in 1873, and Ogden, Plain City, and Layton in 1886.⁶⁹ The schools grew in numbers, but never commanded sufficient funding. When Utah’s public school system began in 1890, Episcopal Church policy was to support public education, financial resources were meager, and only the Salt Lake City schools survived.

The central schools in Tuttle’s program were St. Mark’s grammar school, a day school for boys and girls, founded on July 1, 1867, in Salt Lake City, and St. Mark’s School for girls, another elementary day school, which opened for business on August 29, 1881. This latter school, now coeducational, is currently Rowland Hall-St. Mark’s School, a major private school in Salt Lake City. Virginia Rowland, the widow of a prominent Philadelphia Civil War era industrialist, and her daughter, also named Virginia, gave the money for the original Rowland Hall as a memorial to Benjamin Rowland. The Reverend R. M. Kirby, school chaplain and St. Mark’s Cathedral pastor for nearly eleven years, married the younger Virginia Rowland, who died shortly before Kirby came to Utah in 1871.

The schools’ beginnings could not have been more inauspicious. Three old dry good stores and a half-ruined adobe bowling alley owned by J. King Robinson were found on Main Street between Second and Third South, a place “gutted by the Mormons under the pretense that it was an immoral resort.”⁷⁰ Two single unpainted board partitions created two classrooms, “a few plain pine desks, such as were used a hundred years ago, were ordered” and the Episcopal

⁶⁸Editorial, *Deseret News*, March 20, 1872.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 370–72.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 371.

Church was in the school business.⁷¹ The schools moved frequently in their early years. Other sites were Independence Hall, Groesbeck's store on Main Street, and a location opposite City Hall. The girls' school once occupied the basement of St. Mark's Cathedral and was known for several years as the "Basement School."⁷² By 1873 St. Mark's Grammar School moved into its own building at 141 East First South and, by 1876, enrolled 463 students. Meanwhile, the School on the Hill, as Rowland Hall was known, was constructed on A Street and First Avenue, and by 1882 the school numbered seventeen boarding and thirty day students.

Because many students could not afford tuition, Tuttle created a series of forty-dollar scholarships, which would cover annual tuition, and promoted them as a staple of his appeals in the East, as did his successors. The Church raised five hundred such scholarships in twenty years. By 1885 there were 700 pupils in Episcopal Church schools in Utah, 500 of them from LDS families. "Our bills are met, our hearts are cheered, and scores and scores of children, otherwise neglected, are being trained to the useful, the true and the pure," Bishop Tuttle reported in 1888.⁷³

He emphasized education for young women as harmonious with higher religious values: "Many a girl . . . is getting fitted, by God's blessing, to be a wife and mother of a far different sort from the poor creatures around us here."⁷⁴ Reflecting on his educational policies many years later, Tuttle characterized Church schools as "among the redeeming, regenerating, and disenthraling influences which have changed the fanatical, oligarchic community of 1867 into the American Utah of today [1900]." ⁷⁵

ST. MARK'S CATHEDRAL: "A BISHOP'S CHURCH"

The pillars of Tuttle's ministry in Utah, in addition to schools, were St. Mark's Cathedral, the first permanent non-LDS Church

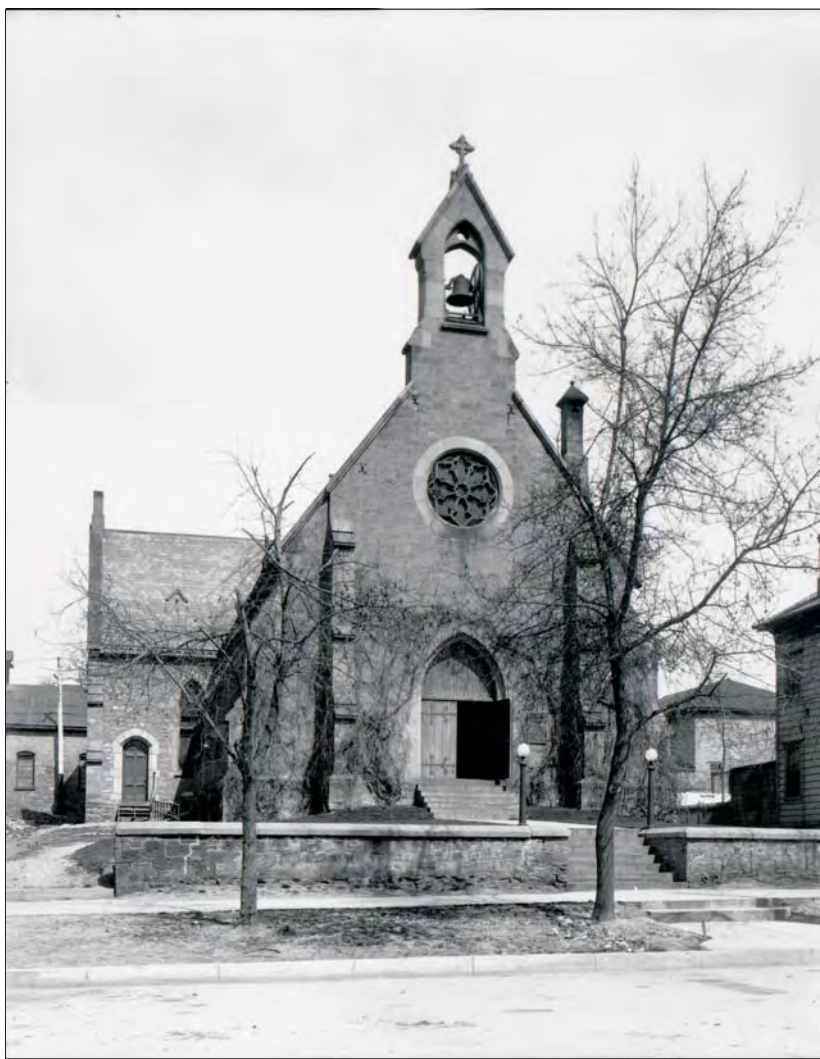
⁷¹Ibid., 372.

⁷²Mary R. Clark, "Rowland Hall—St. Mark's School: Alternative Education for More than a Century," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (Summer 1980): 272–75.

⁷³Quinn, *Building the "Goodly Fellowship of Faith,"* 16.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 374.



St. Mark's Cathedral, Salt Lake City, 1909. Courtesy of Utah State Historical Society.

structure in Salt Lake City, and St. Mark's Hospital, soon a major institution of the Intermountain West. The name was selected because George Foote had once served at St. Mark's Church, a prominent lower Manhattan church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Bowery, New York.⁷⁶

After a six-month successful fund-raising campaign in the East, Foote returned to Salt Lake City with \$15,000 in May 1870. He expected to be named rector of St. Mark's; but on November 18, 1870, the vestry elected Bishop Tuttle as rector instead and later passed an additional resolution that the bishop would always be *ex officio* rector of the cathedral parish. Tuttle accepted, providing he could nominate its assistant clergy. It was an effort to avoid factions,⁷⁷ but Foote resigned the day after Tuttle's election, effective January 1, 1871. Tuttle faced a classic Church fight at the parish's organizational meeting. He tried to avoid it by having his brother-in-law and long-time friend since seminary days nominate him as rector; in turn he would appoint Foote as his assistant, and they could sort out their respective roles. Foote opted instead to run against Tuttle and lost five to two. The conflict saddened Tuttle, who wrote, "I am sorry to lose George and must take the church building matter entirely upon myself until the vestry can get into shape to assume care." In a rare expression of loss, he wrote to E. N. Goddard, one of the original clergy to come west with Tuttle and now led a parish in Montana, "Dear friend, were it the Lord's will, how much happier would I be at Morris."⁷⁸

Richard Upjohn (1802–78), a leading British-American architect, designed the cathedral, and \$45,000 was needed to complete its construction. Hussey, the banker and Episcopal lay leader who would soon go bankrupt, provided a loan of \$15,000, probably in May 1871. In New York in November 1873, Bishop Tuttle secured the loan with an old friend, Cortlandt De Peyster Field, who contacted friends and raised an additional \$2,000.⁷⁹ The bishop laid the cathedral's cornerstone on July 30, 1870, at 231 East 100 South, in downtown Salt Lake City. On May 21, 1871, services moved from Independence Hall, their meeting place for the last four years, to the cathedral basement. Tuttle said, "A congregation of two hundred was present, and more

⁷⁶"Letter from Bishop Tuttle," *The Spirit of Missions*, July 1871, 305–6.

⁷⁷Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 391.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 388.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 392.

than fifty went away for want of room. Our church proper, when completed, will seat about four hundred. It is a most substantial church; the walls, and bell tower, and cross, of honest, massive stone, with a dry, light and well ventilated basement for our Sunday school of two hundred and twenty scholars.”⁸⁰

On Ascension Day, May 14, 1874, the missionary district’s seven clergy and several missionary bishops gathered for the consecration of St. Mark’s Cathedral. Tuttle called it “a Bishop’s church, strong, plain, but beautiful, and complete in its appointments.” At day’s end he reflected, “I for one went to bed all tired out, but happy as a boy who had been on the winning side in a match at baseball, and full of humble thanksgiving to the good Lord who has sent reward to the poor sort of labor of my last seven years.”⁸¹ By “bishop’s church,” he meant “a church in which the bishop is immediate as well as ultimate controller and rector.”⁸²

THE BISHOP AS CATHEDRAL RECTOR

Tuttle was coming down clearly on one side of an important identity question that affected St. Mark’s. A cathedral could be an independent parish church operated by a dean and vestry, one parish among many, where the bishop appeared at Christmas and Easter and for occasional diocesan services like ordinations or conventions. Or it could be, as Tuttle always intended, the chief parish of the scattered missionary district, presided over by the bishop but with a dean as the day-to-day pastor and administrator of the cathedral congregation. Such questions of Church jurisdiction and authority can be mine fields. Tuttle recognized that “troubles thick as blackberries are likely to interfere” and that a cathedral risks becoming “a very storm-center of disunity and disharmony.”⁸³ Rectors, vestries, and wealthy local parishioners could be comfortable in their ways, perhaps jealous and resistant of supporting a wider role in the missionary

⁸⁰“Letter from Bishop Tuttle,” *The Spirit of Missions*, July 1871, 305–6.

⁸¹“Letter from Bishop Tuttle,” *The Spirit of Missions*, July 1874, 397–98.

⁸²Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 381. *Cathedral* comes from the Middle English *cathedra*, meaning “chair,” or bishop’s seat—hence, a visible sign of a bishop’s authority and of the missionary district’s or diocese’s unity.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 385.

district. The contrasting cries will be, Tuttle said, "The bishop belongs to us all equally" and, "What right has he to establish his cathedral church in our midst and lure away and appropriate for it our parishioners?"⁸⁴

Foreseeing these possible conflicts, Bishop Tuttle established his own position before St. Mark's became a reality. At the cathedral, the bishop would exercise his pastoral role among the clergy and people. "He has been a pastor before he was a bishop," he reflected, speaking of the bishop's role. "It is a joy to him that in the cathedral congregation there is room enough for him to have gracious exercise of this longing of his heart."⁸⁵ He also pointed out another reason for a bishop to lead the cathedral congregation: "It is not seemly that he and his family should be merely parishioners in some parish church, in which church his right and authority are no greater than in any church of his diocese, and where, if he wish to preach, or to confer orders, or to celebrate the Holy Communion, it is necessary for him to ask permission of the rector."⁸⁶ Furthermore, a bishop, through the cathedral, can set norms for worship, preaching, teaching, music, and community activity. Such services, "can stand forth, not by a hard and fast law, but by way of steady example, as the norm for the diocese."⁸⁷

Tuttle was also aware of potential tension in the dean's role. "[The bishop] must have a dean" who would be "the real pastor. The bishop cannot stay at home enough and cannot find enough time to be pastor. . . . The bishop's dream of a church of his own, therefore, becomes much modified in actual experience." The relationship will work only if all parties exercise "prudent self-restraint and . . . constant exercise of considerate courtesy."⁸⁸ Tuttle thus established the foundation of a basic working relationship between bishop and cathedral; however, in future decades, the cathedral-bishop relationship was marked by periodic tensions when a dean would seek to limit the bishop's role.

Years later, Tuttle reflected warmly on his time spent at on St. Mark's Cathedral: "Prayers and tears and hopes and fears and sacred memories, as well as altar and walls and gifts and memorials, were

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid., 383.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Ibid., 383-84.

⁸⁸Ibid., 384.

consecrated in that noble building in the mountains, to which my heart turns even now in the deepest tenderness.”⁸⁹

ST. MARK'S HOSPITAL

Hamilton and Major Edmund Wilkes, a mine superintendent, were both active members of St. Mark's and had approached Tuttle with the idea of a community hospital, the only such institution between Denver and San Francisco at the time. In May 1872 the Episcopal Church opened St. Mark's Hospital in a rented adobe house at 500 East 400 South, funded largely by monthly dues of one dollar paid by individual miners and by contributions from the local business community. Several Salt Lake City citizens subscribed to the hospital's support, and four eastern donors sent \$630.⁹⁰

The mining industry's growth had resulted in a demand for medical care. Silicosis, “miner's consumption,” and lead poisoning at times accounted for more than half the hospital's patients. Safety conditions were poor and accidents frequent. The Roman Catholic Holy Cross Hospital was built in 1875 and the LDS Deseret Hospital in 1882, but from its inception St. Mark's welcomed all persons, including Mormons. The miners came from several ethnic groups. “The kindest feelings, the most generous helpfulness, were shown to us by all sorts and conditions of people,” Tuttle remarked.⁹¹

Amputations were a common surgical procedure, with physicians employing skills they had learned on the job in the Civil War. Damaged limbs were removed with a saw, and wounds cauterized. Nitrous oxide (laughing gas) provided an anesthesia of sorts.⁹² A parishioner from Grace Church in Brooklyn, New York, provided a year's supply of medicines; and a local physician, Dr. John Hamilton, a former army surgeon, donated his services.⁹³

In 1875 Tuttle recorded that five hundred patients had been cared for and that all but \$589 of the hospital's \$9,500 budget was

⁸⁹Ibid., 393.

⁹⁰Quinn, *Building the “Goodly Fellowship of Faith,”* 19.

⁹¹Ibid., 403.

⁹²W. Dee Halverson and David M. Walden, *St. Mark's Hospital, 1872–1997: A 125-Year Legacy of Quality Health Care in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Heritage Associates, ca. 1997), 21–23.

⁹³Quinn, *Building the “Goodly Fellowship of Faith,”* 19.

raised locally.⁹⁴ The hospital moved a block north in 1876 and expanded to a dozen beds. When Tuttle left Utah in 1886, he estimated that 4,776 patients had received care at St. Mark's Hospital since its opening.⁹⁵

WOMEN IN THE EARLY CHURCH IN UTAH

Women provided much of the Church's activity and organizing energy in Utah, although the sacramental and preaching line was passed on exclusively through male priests until the 1970s. Notwithstanding, many of the male clergy brought with them wives who served as teachers and Church organizers in the frontier setting. The women taught Sunday School, prepared the church's altars, visited the sick, answered letters, and cooked meals for parish gatherings. Meanwhile, a steady stream of women mission teachers and later deaconesses came from the East to teach in Utah's Church schools. Women were also the core workers at St. Mark's Hospital. Their evangelism was no less real because it was at a hospital bed or in a classroom rather than from a pulpit.

From the earliest days women's names and activities find their places in the reports, often in the "Woman's Auxiliary" entries. Names, numbers, activity descriptions, and rare personal letters offer glimpses of some of these women. For example, Mrs. J. F. Hamilton presided over music programs at St. Mark's for twenty-six years. St. Mark's women raised money to buy an organ and build the rectory. They also formed several guilds for mutual support, service, and friendship. In 1883 they raised \$1,000 for the poor.

Sometimes their activity reached out of the state; in 1884 Tuttle reported that a local branch of the Woman's Auxiliary had sent a set of altar linens to a church in Hailey, Idaho, and mailed a box of mission supplies to a new church in North Carolina. Tuttle commented appreciatively, "The women of the church, through its agency, may be cheered in feeling that they are . . . members of one strong body of willing and active workers as extensive as the nation itself."⁹⁶

Tuttle's papers contain numerous letters expressing thanks to

⁹⁴Ibid., 20.

⁹⁵Halverson and Walden, *St. Mark's Hospital*, 26.

⁹⁶*Journal of the Third Annual Convocation of the Missionary District of Utah and Idaho, Ogden, Utah, May 17-19, 1885*, quoted in Quinn, *Building the*

eastern women's groups for prayer books, Christmas gifts, and boxes and barrels of educational and medical supplies. A \$500 endowment from an unnamed woman in Cleveland provided scholarship money for St. Mark's School, and a "lady from Philadelphia and her friends" paid for the episcopal residence in Salt Lake City.⁹⁷ Mrs. J. McGraw Fiske of Ithaca, New York, left a bequest of \$10,000, which went to the new Rowland Hall for young women. And, as already mentioned, the generosity of the Mount sisters of New York City allowed the construction of a chapel and two rectories.⁹⁸

Historian Mary Donovan has identified several women who played key roles in the Episcopal Church's growth in Utah in 1899, including Clara I. Colbourne, the principal of Rowland Hall School; Nellie F. Crossland, the superintendent of St. Mark's Hospital Training School for Nurses; Lucy Nelson Carter, a missionary worker at White Rocks; Sara Napper, the Secretary of the Girls Friendly Society and registrar of the Missionary District; and Ellen Lees, a Salt Lake City missions visitor. Grace D. Wetherbee, a student at the New York Training School for Deaconess, had spent a summer at the White Rocks Mission.⁹⁹

One of the most active ministries was that of Emily Pearsall, cousin of a junior warden when Tuttle was at Morris, New York. She arrived in Salt Lake City in April 1870 and died two years later on November 5, 1872, age thirty-eight, after serving the last month of her life as matron of St. Mark's Hospital. She was buried in Mount Olivet Cemetery, and the city's poor contributed enough pennies for an \$80 gravestone. In 1900 a Pearsall memorial stained-glass window was installed in St. Mark's Cathedral, most likely made by the well-known Franz Mayer firm of Munich. Paying tribute to her in *The Spirit of Missions*, Tuttle provided a vivid sketch of her role as a parish worker or "Woman Missionary" at St. Mark's Cathedral:

She taught singing and sewing in our St. Mark's school. She had a Bi-

"*Goodly Fellowship of Faith*," 26.

⁹⁷"Twelfth Annual Report of the Missionary Bishop of Montana, Idaho, and Utah," quoted in Quinn, *Building the "Goodly Fellowship of Faith"*, 27.

⁹⁸*Journal of the Fourth Annual Convocation of the Missionary District of Utah and Idaho, St. Paul's Chapel, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 16-18, 1886*, 18.

⁹⁹Mary S. Donovan, "Women Missionaries in Utah," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 66, no. 2 (1997): 159-62.

ble class for girls one afternoon in the week. She took charge of the host of little ones in the infant class of the Sunday school. Sunday afternoons she went into neglected neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city and held cottage meetings. She was overseer of the homes of the "pensioners" of our Charity Fund. She was the judicious distributor of the contents of our "Clothing-Room," provided from the boxes and barrels kindly sent us from the East. She was a constant visitor among the poor[,] and the families on her carefully-prepared list numbered hundreds. She became known for good over the entire city, and not a few of the sad polygamous women came to her for sympathy and counsel. Sometimes her gentle heart sank for sorrow; often it burned with hot indignation over what she heard and saw and knew. Her discreet sense and her untiring patience, however, always kept the way open for her to go whither she would in all the city, among Mormons and Gentiles, on her errands of good.¹⁰⁰

Pearsall developed a tumor, probably cancer, and worsened steadily. "Night by night, as she expressed it, she was lying down by the side of death," Tuttle recalled. "Yet her remarkable cheerfulness never forsook her. . . . She most dreaded the coming of a time when she would be unable to work, and would become a care and burden to others." The time came when, in "a glorious sunset of a clear afternoon, we buried her on the hillside of St. Mark's Cemetery. The children, the poor, the sad, the friendless, followed her in large numbers to the grave, and ere we came away we sang the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' the fittest funeral hymn for her."¹⁰¹

We can also draw some deductions about Harriet Tuttle's contributions to her husband's work. She played the organ, led the singing, visited the sick, extended hospitality to visitors, handled her husband's correspondence and business dealings, took over primary care of the children, particularly during her husband's protracted journeys, and was his closest confidante. "If the duties laid upon me have been at all successfully discharged," he paid her tribute, "it has been her wise judgment and rare efficiency and unwearied activity that have made the success due. Justice, at the expense of delicacy, de-

¹⁰⁰Daniel S. Tuttle, "In Memoriam," *The Spirit of Missions*, January 1873, 79–80. See also Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 272.

¹⁰¹Tuttle, "In Memoriam," 80.

mands this rendering of honor to whom honor is due.”¹⁰²

Harriet E. Tuttle was a leading member of the Ladies Literary Club of Salt Lake City, serving as its president in 1881–82. The club met weekly for study and discussion sessions, and Mrs. Tuttle was among those who presented “interesting and instructive papers.”¹⁰³ She also headed the Episcopal Church’s Woman’s Auxiliary in Utah and later in Missouri, wrote for its publications, attended its national meetings, and, through decades of work, knew its national and local leaders.¹⁰⁴ Tuttle was traveling by train through Wyoming on August 19, 1899, when he received a telegram informing him of his wife’s sudden death in St. Louis.¹⁰⁵ He wrote poignantly in his diary:

My precious, faithful, loving wife. The Holy Spirit helps me. Goodbye till the great Easter Day. May I lose myself in others till I rest by her side. God be merciful to me a sinner. God’s sunshine kindly lights up the sand hills as I ride by. I can see them through the tears, and have faith in and recognize his loving mercy. Goodbye! Along these very plains she rode in the stage with me *thirty-one* years ago. God be thanked for her! God mercifully bring me HOME with her by and by.¹⁰⁶

1886: DEPARTURE FOR MISSOURI

Shortly after his arrival in Utah, the Diocese of Missouri had elected Tuttle its bishop on June 1, 1868. He had declined, having just begun his mission in the West. A second call came from the same diocese on May 26, 1886. Tuttle accepted and left for Missouri that August, satisfied he had done his best in the vast district committed to his care. The numbers had grown gradually during his episcopate and signaled the place the Episcopal Church would have in Utah during the next century, a small, struggling minority of a few thousand persons whose material resources would be minimal but whose con-

¹⁰²Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 249.

¹⁰³Katherine Barrette Parsons, *History of the Fifty Years Ladies’ Literary Club: Salt Lake City, Utah, 1877–1927* (Salt Lake City: Arrow Press, 1927), 13, 37.

¹⁰⁴Donovan, *A Different Call*, 127.

¹⁰⁵Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 467.

¹⁰⁶Daniel S. Tuttle, Diary, quoted in Charles F. Rehkopf, “The Episcopate of Bishop Tuttle,” 1961, 11–12, Dalglish Collection, Diocesan Archives.

tributions to Utah's life would be significant.¹⁰⁷

The balance sheet on the Tuttle years showed steady, incremental growth in a difficult setting, concentrated on parishes in Salt Lake City and key northern towns, plus St. Mark's Cathedral, schools, and the hospital. In his final report as missionary bishop, he observed that, during his nineteen years, local churches in the missionary district raised \$440,063 for their support and that he had raised "through my own hand" as "gifts from the east" an additional \$368,102. In 1886 the missionary district listed six churches and six clergy. St. Mark's in Salt Lake City, with 265 communicants, was the largest parish. St. Paul's Chapel had fifty-nine; Good Shepherd in Ogden, ninety-five; St. John's of Logan, thirty-eight; and St. Paul's of Plain City, twenty-five. Good Samaritan in Corinne had shrunk to two communicants. In Utah that year there were 100 infant baptisms, twenty-three adult baptisms, forty-seven confirmations, fifty-one marriages, and sixty burials. More than 688 young people attended Sunday Schools with fifty-one teachers, while 749 persons attended parish schools staffed with twenty-nine teachers.¹⁰⁸

The LDS-owned *Deseret Evening News* said of the departing bishop on August 26, 1886:

Although very pronounced in his opposition to the Mormon faith, he has not acted as an enemy to the Mormon people. So far as we are aware he has not, like many of his cloth, used his ecclesiastical influence towards the oppression and spoliation of the Latter-day Saints, but has on many occasions borne testimony to their good qualities, in public and in private. We respect a consistent antagonist.

Bishop Tuttle is not only frank enough to express freely his dissent from the doctrines of the Mormons while among them, but brave enough to speak in defense of that unpopular people when in the midst of their enemies. There are few prominent men who do this. . . . Bishop Tuttle, by his consistent course, has gained the esteem of the Mormon people without losing the respect of his own class and de-

¹⁰⁷Tuttle was Bishop of Missouri from 1886 to 1923 and Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, through seniority (1903–23). His term was the longest in the American Church, except for its founding bishop, William White of Pennsylvania, who held the post from 1789 to 1835.

¹⁰⁸"The Twentieth Annual Report of the Bishop of Utah and Idaho," quoted in Quinn, *Building the "Goodly Fellowship of Faith,"* 29–30.

nomination.¹⁰⁹

It was not a final goodbye. Before his death on April 17, 1923, Tuttle served several times as temporary administrator of the Utah-Idaho Missionary District during episcopal vacancies, helped select the second bishop, buried the third in 1914, worked for the removal of the fourth in 1917, and presided over the consecration of the fifth in 1920. Daniel S. Tuttle cast a long shadow and his achievements as a spiritual leader and institutional builder earn him a solid place among the leading religious figures of his time.

¹⁰⁹*Deseret Evening News*, August 26, 1886, 2, quoted in Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West*, 356.

CIVILIZING THE RAGGED EDGE: THE WIVES OF JACOB HAMBLIN

Todd Compton

JACOB VERNON HAMBLIN, TWENTY, not yet a Mormon convert, married fifteen-year-old Lucinda Taylor on October 3, 1839, in Spring Prairie, Wisconsin. She was “young and [a person of] little experience as I was my self,” Hamblin later wrote. “This was contrr[y] to the feelings of my Parence. When the Mariage Seremony was over I felt condmed for what I had don. I would of given all I possessed if I could of ben freed . . . Thus was I pead [paid] for my disobediance in that I had no joy in the wife I had taken.”¹ So began an eventful married life that involved possibly as many as seven women and forty-seven years on some of

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¹Jacob Hamblin, Autobiography, 10–11; terminal punctuation and initial capitals added where necessary. Hamblin wrote this account after 1854 (the last date it contains). The original holograph is in Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives), MS 1951, fd. 2. This autobi-

the most forbidding frontiers in the American West.

Hamblin has achieved legendary status among Mormons as an Indian missionary, explorer in southern Utah and Arizona, and Mormon/Indian peacemaker during a period when Indian wars and violence were frequent in the Southwest. He was a remarkable man, leader of the first white settlers in Santa Clara in 1854, the leader of early, enormously difficult expeditions into Navajo and Hopi territory from 1858 to 1870, the discoverer of Lee's Ferry in 1858 and the leader of the group that first crossed the Colorado there in 1864,² and a guide for John Wesley Powell in his second Colorado River expedition from 1871 to 1873 and his visit to the Hopi mesas and the Navajos. Hamblin was fearless in his dealings with Goshutes, Paiutes, Hopi and Navajos, and his efforts to defuse conflicts between Native Americans and Mormons probably saved a significant number of lives on the frontier.³

Men often receive great recognition while their wives are less well known, despite facilitating and contributing to the accomplish-

ography includes quotations from Hamblin's early diaries. A version of this holograph autobiography is in Helen Cram Starr, comp., *Jacob Vernon Hamblin: Peacemaker in the Camp of the Lamanites* (St. George, Utah: privately printed, 1995), 9. I express thanks to Helen, a descendant of Jacob Hamblin and Louisa Bonelli Hamblin, for sharing Hamblin documents and traditions with me. Another version of the holograph autobiography appears on a CD-ROM, *LDS Family History Suite 2* (n.p.: Ancestry, Inc., 1998). See also James A. Little, ed., *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience, as a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians and Explorer, Disclosing Interpositions of Providence, Severe Privations, Perilous Situations and Remarkable Escapes* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881). This book contains Hamblin's "public" memoirs, edited substantially by Little and oriented toward the miraculous and adventurous.

²P. T. O'Reilly, *Lee's Ferry: From Mormon Crossing to National Park* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999), 7.

³On the other hand, Hamblin has been viewed unsympathetically by some recent scholars, such as P. T. O'Reilly and Will Bagley—almost an inevitable reaction to the "Hamblin legend," and also a modern development of the Hamblin-Lee feud. See O'Reilly, *Lee's Ferry*; Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002); and Charles Peterson, "Jacob Hamblin: Apostle to the Lamanites and the Indian Mission," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 21–34. While Hamblin certainly was human, and far

ments of their husbands. This is certainly the case with the Hamblin wives, who have a role in the standard Hamblin biographies,⁴ but have not been given historical attention in their own right. Hamblin was frequently absent on expeditions to the Indians or on exploring ventures; many of the births and deaths in his family occurred during those absences. His wives often coped with these crises alone and, furthermore, helped keep his extensive household going. They, with the aid of Hamblin's older children, tended his agricultural, business, and ranching operations while he was absent.

Hamblin's mobile lifestyle was not always a matter of choice, although he did have a tendency to follow the frontier. When he was living in Kanab, he apparently asked Brigham Young for permission to settle down and work his own farms. His request has not survived but Young's answer, written in 1874, when Hamblin was fifty-five, informed him that his work with the Lamanites was irreplaceable. "We wish you to continue your labors as missionary to the Natives."⁵ Thus, Hamblin's wives provide case studies of women creating civilization on

from perfect, I nevertheless believe that his achievements were significant; however, this paper focuses on Hamblin's wives, not on Hamblin. For the Lee-Hamblin feud, see Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee: Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapegoat* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1992), 331–32, 325, who felt that it began in November 1873. Lee's role in the Mountain Meadows Massacre and his excommunication in October 1870 were factors leading to the estrangement.

⁴Hamblin has been the subject of three full-length biographies, all useful but none adequate. Paul Bailey's *Jacob Hamblin: Buckskin Apostle* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1948) borders on fiction, with invented conversations. Pearson Corbett's *Jacob Hamblin: Peacemaker* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1952), is something of a family history, overly dependent on Hamblin's published autobiography edited by Little. Hartt Wixom, *Hamblin: A Modern Look at the Frontier Life and Legend of Jacob Hamblin* (Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 1996) is a popular treatment.

⁵Brigham Young and George Albert Smith, Letter to Jacob Hamblin, December 28, 1874, Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronological scrapbook of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), LDS Church Archives. The Journal History is now available in Richard E. Turley, ed., *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2 vols., DVD (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002). See also Leland H. Creer, "The Activities of

the frontier, coping with the challenges of frontier life while their husband was often even farther out on the ragged edge. They followed Hamblin to the frontier, whatever their yearnings for urban stability might have been. Of course, the frontier was, for many Mormons, a religious choice, not just the product of a thirst for adventure.⁶

The task of telling the story of Hamblin's wives leads to a problem often confronting those researching women's history: their underdocumentation. Hamblin's substantial writings often record his travels and adventures away from home and tell us little about his family life.⁷ I have found no diaries written by Hamblin's wives, a few letters written by one wife, Louisa Bonelli, long after Hamblin's death, and only one apparent autobiography, which is quoted in "Sa-

Jacob Hamblin in the Region of the Colorado," *University of Utah Anthropological Papers* 33 (May 1958), 31; Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 384; Wixom, *Hamblin*, 303. Hamblin had been formally called as president of the Southern Utah Indian Mission in 1857 and was actually ordained "an Apostle to the Lamanites" in December 1876 by Brigham Young. Andrew Jensen, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jensen History Co., 1901–36), 3:100. "Lamanite," a Book of Mormon term, refers to a dark-skinned people descended from the lost tribes of Israel, who formerly lived in the Americas, according to Latter-day Saint belief.

⁶For an introduction to women on the frontier, see Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: "Civilizing" the West? 1840–1880*, rev. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998); John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*, 2d ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001); Sandra L. Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800–1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); Glenda Riley, *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1988); Lillian Schlissel, Byrd Gibbens, and Elizabeth Mapsten, *Far from Home: Families of the Westward Journey* (New York: Schocken Books, 1989); Linda S. Peavy and Ursula Smith, *Women in Waiting in the Westward Movement: Life on the Home Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); and *Pioneer Women: The Lives of Women on the Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), with wonderful photographs. For the frontier as religious choice for Mormons, see, for example, Charles S. Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing along the Little Colorado River, 1870–1900* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973). Mormons often regarded coming to Utah and further colonizing as missions given from God through their prophet.

⁷There are important Hamblin diaries and memoirs at LDS Church

rah Priscilla Leavitt Hamblin: A Pioneer Midwife,” by Myrl Tenney Arrott, Sarah Priscilla’s granddaughter. Arrott notes (p. 7) that the previous pages were based on the journal of Priscilla’s mother, Sarah Sturdevant Leavitt, which Arrott read aloud to Priscilla in 1925–27. (Priscilla died in 1927 at age eighty-six.) Then Arrott continues: “The following story is written in my grandmother [Priscilla]’s words as she remembered how she as a child and young lady lived and experienced these events.”⁸ The rest of the narrative is in Priscilla’s first-person voice. Because it conflicts in some particulars with other reliable sources, one wonders if Arrott took notes as her grandmother talked, then later created her narrative without fully understanding the notes. Nevertheless, it is a valuable source, if used with caution.

Without diaries or extensive memoirs, the historian often must rely on family traditions, which are less precise than contemporary records such as diaries or letters. However, historians have recently given family lore increased respect. Memory often preserves valuable truths, even when the facts are not precisely correct.⁹ Corbett’s biography of Jacob Hamblin is a treasure chest of Hamblin family lore. Whenever possible, I have also gleaned contemporary references to

Archives and at the L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts Division, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (MS 770). To describe Hamblin’s writings fully would require a separate article. In addition to the holograph autobiography (including early diaries) mentioned above, see Hamblin’s 1854–58 Diaries and Reminiscences, LDS Church Archives, MS 1951 (holograph) and MS 14654 (a typescript, containing some material missing from the holograph). The Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, has a typescript of a diary for Hamblin’s fifth mission to the Hopis (1863). Hamblin did not keep full diaries throughout his life (or at least, they have not been preserved), so substantial diaries or holographic reminiscences exist only for 1819–58, 1863, 1868–71 and 1885.

⁸Myrl Tenney Arrott, “Sarah Priscilla Leavitt Hamblin: A Pioneer Midwife” (n.p., n.d.), 7. The forty-nine-page photocopy is in my possession. Sarah Sturdevant Leavitt’s journal has not, to my knowledge, survived.

⁹Laurel Ulrich Thatcher, *Rachel’s Death: How Memory Challenges History* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2003). For one example from a growing literature, see James McConkey, ed., *The Anatomy of Memory: An Anthology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). A historian must respect memory and tradition, while still using historic data as a control for them.

Hamblin's wives from diaries and other sources to supplement and correct family history.

Five of Hamblin's marriages are documented:

1. He married Lucinda Taylor in 1839.¹⁰ They had four children: Duane, Martha Adaline, Marriette Magdaline, and Lyman Stoddard. Hamblin and Lucinda separated in February 1849.

2. On September 30, 1849, when he was thirty, Hamblin married Rachael Judd Page Henderson, a twenty-eight-year-old widow with three adopted children, in Council Bluffs, Iowa. They had five children: Lois, Joseph, Rachel Tamar, Benjamin, and Ariminda. Rachel died in 1865 in Santa Clara, Utah.

3. On September 11, 1857, Jacob, age thirty-eight, married sixteen-year-old Sarah Priscilla Leavitt in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City. It was his first polygamous marriage. They had nine children: Sarah Olive, Melissa, Lucy, Jacob Jr., Ella Ann, Mary Elizabeth, Clara Melvina, Dudley Jabez, and Don Carlos.

4. Sometime before October or November 1860, according to some sources, Hamblin married Eliza, a Paiute girl who had lived in his household as an adopted child. On February 14, 1863, at the Endowment House, Jacob was sealed to Eliza for eternity. Eliza's birth date has been given in genealogical records as 1846, but that date is an estimate. Probably Eliza was a teenager while Jacob was approximately forty-five. She subsequently left Hamblin, and I have found no death date for her.

5. On November 16, 1865, Jacob married Louisa Bonelli in Salt Lake City. She was twenty-two, and he was forty-six. They had six children: Walter Eugene, Inez Louisa, George Oscar, Alice Edna, Willard Otto, and Amarilla (born in 1884). They bring the sum of Hamblin's known biological children to twenty-four.

Possible but not confirmed wives are two Native American women, names unknown, married to Hamblin during his Kanab period (roughly, 1867–77). Non-Mormon Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, a member of the second Powell expedition (1871–73), carefully read and annotated the Little autobiography of Hamblin. In it, Dellenbaugh mentions that Hamblin “was ‘sealed’ to two Pai Ute women when I knew him and he had at least two white wives, one of whom ‘Sister

¹⁰For references on the women mentioned in this short preliminary overview, see the sections on them below.

Louisa,' I knew fairly well."¹¹ Dellenbaugh is a credible witness who knew Jacob and Louisa Bonelli Hamblin well, and lived for three months in a camp near Kanab and "took his meals" with Louisa. Dellenbaugh apparently made his note on Hamblin's biography in 1921; but in his 1908 memoir of the Powell expedition, Dellenbaugh is less certain, writing that Hamblin was "'sealed' to one or two Pai Ute women."¹² Thus, the existence of a seventh wife seems especially uncertain. In addition, one might argue that Dellenbaugh, not a Mormon insider, could have mistaken older adopted children for wives. But it is also possible that Dellenbaugh's outsider status allowed him to touch on a topic that was taboo for many southern Utah Mormons of that era.

Hamblin and his wives adopted at least seven Indian children:

1. Albert, of Snake (Shoshone) lineage, a favorite of Jacob. Albert was well known for his visionary tendencies. He was also a witness of or participant in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Hamblin adopted him in approximately 1851 or 1853, when he was about ten years old; he died in spring 1863.¹³

2. An unnamed male child, born in approximately 1847.¹⁴

3. Susan.¹⁵

4. Ellen died of apparent blood poisoning after stepping on a sharp stick.¹⁶ She was adopted in 1857 or 1858.¹⁷

5. Eliza became Jacob's wife.

¹¹Handwritten note opposite title page in Dellenbaugh's copy of Little, *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience*, Frederick Dellenbaugh Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson. Since it has not been published, to my knowledge, I reproduce it as an appendix to this article.

¹²Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage: The Narrative of the Second Powell Expedition* (1908, rpt., Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 174.

¹³Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 30, 81, 86–87.

¹⁴Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (January–April 1944): 41.

¹⁵Vera Leib Miller, *The Jacob Hamblin Family* (Seal Beach, Calif.: Author, 1975), 54; Ancestral File, www.familysearch.org, lists Susan born "About 1854" in Tooele.

¹⁶Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 234–35, seems to place this death in early 1864; see also Brooks, "Indian Relations," 42. Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 35, called this girl Emily.

¹⁷Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 35.

6. Fanny married Aaron Adair.¹⁸

7. Lucinda married Ira Hatch.¹⁹

LUCINDA TAYLOR

Lucinda Taylor, born on August 24, 1823, to Daniel Taylor and Sarah McCrumbie, is a figure of pathos. Jacob Hamblin wrote harshly about her, depicting their marriage as clouded from the beginning. However, family traditions balance his account with a more sympathetic portrait.

Even though Jacob denied ever experiencing contentment in this marriage, he and Lucinda stayed together for ten years and had four children. Hamblin converted to Mormonism in 1842, but Lucinda held back, not joining the Church until after her father's death. Her commitment to the new faith was not as complete as Jacob's. He went on his first, brief Lamanite mission in Wisconsin in February 1843, returning the same month to find "my wife sick hur fase badly swolen and in mutch pain from an efectted tooth She asked me to administer to hur I did so. The pain left in stantly our child had allso ben held [healed] from a lingrin deces [lingering disease]." ²⁰ So Lucinda was apparently a woman of faith at the time.

In September 1843, the Hamblins left Wisconsin for Nauvoo, one of many moves that they would make in the following years. Lucinda was reportedly very attached to her home in Wisconsin, and the move was emotionally difficult for her. The family would continue to struggle with poverty, sickness, and uprootedness in the upcoming years. Three years later in 1846, they moved to Mount Pisgah, one of the first way-stations in the Mormon trek west. But Jacob then traveled east to Bloomfield, Iowa, and found work to raise money for provisions. He fell ill there and sent for Lucinda and their three children. His account of this reunion is grim:

They come to me [the] 24[th] Day of August [1846]. I had then ben sick

¹⁸Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 215.

¹⁹Ibid., 213, 215. Corbett says she was the oldest of the Indian girls Hamblin adopted. Brooks, "Indian Relations," 42, gives a daughter of Jacob Hamblin, Mrs. Mary Beeler, as her source. Priscilla mistakenly calls this adopted daughter Ellen but identifies her clearly by saying she later "married a white man and raised a nice family." Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 33. Arrott also gives her age as "thirteen or fourteen" in about 1863. Ibid., 31.

²⁰Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 14.

some three weeks with the chilles and feaver [malaria] and could scarcely walk. My family then consisted of my Wife and three childrin. We ware in a destitute situacion in a miserable hut nearly a mild [mile] from water of any kind. My Wife and two of the childrin ware taken sick the same day. They came [down] with the chilles and feaver. I could not giv them bread nor water. I then asked my Hevnly Father to be mi[n]dfull of us and soften the hart of one that would befriend us in time of need. I was blest with the power of the spirit. My Wif S[p]oke in touns. The same was inturpeted to us that we should all liv o[n]ly be faithful. Mr. Johnson visited us that evening. When he saw our situation he told us we could hav any thing his house afforded that we should kneed.²¹

This passage shows Lucinda once again as a believer, exercising the spiritual gift of speaking in tongues.

By March 1848, the Hamblins had recovered enough to move west to Council Bluffs. Here, on March 11, Lucinda gave birth to their last child, Lyman;²² but soon afterward, the marriage began to unravel. According to Corbett, the couple separated in February 1849.²³ In Hamblin's autobiography, he charged Lucinda with neglecting the children, stealing and accusing him of the theft, and telling falsehoods about him to their children and to the Church authorities. "She took evry advantage she could to oppose me in evry thing that was good," he wrote. Though Church leaders tried to mediate to save the marriage, Jacob felt that Lucinda was not changing for good and that his only option was a separation. "I knew that to live with hur was surtin ruin to me and my family." He took the children—which she apparently agreed to—and obtained a document of divorce.²⁴

From Hamblin family traditions, a somewhat different, or perhaps complementary, view of the breakup emerges. Corbett writes, "Rachel [Jacob's second wife] confided [to Priscilla, Jacob's third wife] that it was Jacob's habit of moving that caused Lucinda, his first wife, to leave him."²⁵ It is significant that this more sympathetic view of Lucinda comes from another wife who had to follow Jacob through

²¹Ibid., 32–34.

²²The March 1848 date is from Hamblin's autobiography; thus, they must have traveled to Council Bluffs before March 11 or later in the month.

²³Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 29.

²⁴Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 45.

²⁵Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 261.

many such moves. A third view comes from L. Jessie Bennett, Lucinda's great-granddaughter, who says that Lucinda "was consumed with disbelief and jealousy at the thought of Jacob's taking a second wife to live the gospel fully. As the time came closer to their making that great, back-breaking journey into the West, Lucinda became . . . more and more rebellious. Her actions became irrational, not understood by her husband and neighbors."²⁶ Thus, fear of the journey west, and possibly misgivings about polygamy, may have caused Lucinda to reject her husband and Mormonism. According to Juanita Brooks, Rachel Judd Hamblin told Dudley Leavitt (Juanita's grandfather), that Lucinda "was not a bad woman, she was just weak. As the time to go west came on, she felt she couldn't face it; we were all still badly under-nourished. She had a way to return to her home and plenty, and she took it. I do not entirely condemn her."²⁷ Faced with the daunting prospect of settling the far frontier, Lucinda turned back.

After Hamblin had married Rachel Judd in September 1849, Lucinda came to visit the children, bringing a dress for one daughter and gifts for the other children. She was saddened when her youngest did not know her.²⁸ Her last appearance in the historical record is Hamblin's diary for June 18, 1850: "travaild 9 miles past Fort Chiles."²⁹ Saw Lucinda the Mother of my Childrin She was the

²⁶Quoted in Miller, *The Jacob Vernon Hamblin Family*, 49.

²⁷Rachel Hamblin, quoted by Dudley Leavitt, quoted in Juanita Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge: The Life and Times of Dudley Leavitt* (1942; rpt., Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1973), 53. This statement is the closest thing we have to a first-person narrative by Rachel. Brooks, aside from being a brilliant historian who read hundreds of southern Utah journals and memoirs, was the granddaughter of Dudley Leavitt, the brother of Priscilla, one of Hamblin's wives. "Granddaughter histories," so common in Mormon history, vary in quality, though they're always worth reading. But a granddaughter history by Juanita Brooks, who talked to her grandfather and his plural wives, is uncommonly valuable.

²⁸Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 30.

²⁹Also known as Fort Childs, and later called Fort Kearny (or, incorrectly but frequently, Fort Kearney), on the south bank of the Platte in present Kearney County in mid-Nebraska. Merrill J. Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road: The Covered Wagon Mainline Via Fort Kearny to Fort Laramie* (Omaha: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1969), 167-237.

same old six pence as she said. Bro. Fords Child died.”³⁰ It is apparent from Jacob’s tone that, despite the trouble he apparently took to visit Lucinda, it was not an amiable meeting. Lucinda reportedly died in 1858 in Kansas.³¹

RACHEL JUDD

Hamblin wrote in his autobiography:

My childrin ware shifted from plase to plas four or five times in course of the sumer. I done my best to keep them as becometh a Father but I couldnot in my situacion. I then made upn [up] my mind to get maried if I could find a woman that would suit me. I then went to see Mrs Rachel henderson an am an amiable woman. I found this woman to was of a mild jentle disposition. Having obtaind consent of parties parties we ware Maried Oct Sept 1849 by Elder L. Stoddard.³² I hav had pease at home or in my family ever cence I hav lived with this kind effction[ate] companion. I hav tasted the bitter. I know well how to apreciate the Sweet.³³

Rachel would be a solid, supportive wife throughout their marriage.

She had been born on September 15, 1821, to Arza Judd and Lucinda Adams Judd in Jamestown, Greene County, Ohio. Her family converted to Mormonism and became stalwart LDS members. A younger brother was Zadok Knapp Judd, Mormon Battalion veteran and later Hamblin’s exploring companion.³⁴ Rachel had apparently been twice married before meeting Hamblin. Her first husband was early Mormon apostle John E. Page, who had married Rachel’s sister, Mary, in 1838. Rachel became his plural wife in approximately 1845.³⁵ Rachel left him in 1846 when he became estranged from the Church.

³⁰Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 51. Since Lucinda had refused to come west with Jacob, her presence at Fort Kearny is a mystery to which Hamblin’s autobiography offers no clue.

³¹Miller, *The Jacob Hamblin Family*, 49; Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 30.

³²Lyman Stoddard was the elder who had converted Hamblin in Wisconsin, and this marriage was probably performed by “church law” at Council Bluffs.

³³Jacob Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 45–46.

³⁴See Zadok’s *Autobiography*, written before 1909, typescript, Utah State Historical Society, for an account of Rachel’s family background.

³⁵D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake

Her second husband was a Mr. Henderson, “a fine man,” a widower with two young sons and a daughter; unfortunately, he died within a year of the marriage.³⁶ Because Rachel had had no children with either man, she concluded that she was infertile. According to family tradition, both Jacob and Rachel had premonitory dreams about their meeting. In Jacob’s dream, he saw her in a log cabin. When he recognized the cabin, he told his companion to wait and knocked on the door. When Rachel answered, he announced:

“My name is Jacob Hamblin, I was impressed to come to your home and ask you to be my wife.”

“I am Rachel Judd, and am willing to marry you, but it will be impossible for us to have any children.”

“My name is Jacob, yours is Rachel, we will have two sons and shall name them Joseph and Benjamin. Are you ready?”

“Yes, wait until I get my things.”³⁷

This is probably an idealized family tradition with a touch of humor. Another version of this meeting is given by Rachel, as quoted by Dudley Leavitt.³⁸ It does not telescope the conversation as drastically as the first story, and the miraculous element of Jacob recognizing the cabin from a dream is gone (“Someone had told Jacob about me, and he came to my cabin,” says Rachel) but it does show that Rachel and Jacob felt an immediate attraction: “We both liked each other instantly. I gave him a chair, and he told me his story. I wanted to marry him, but I thought I should be fair with him.” She then told Jacob she hadn’t been able to bear children, and he replied, “You shall not only bear a child, but you shall bear children . . . and like Jacob and Rachel of Old, our sons shall be Joseph and Benjamin.” Rachel and Jacob married, combining her three stepchildren, William, John, and

City: Signature Books, 1994), 567. Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 53, reports a third-hand interview with Rachel, who identifies Rachel’s first husband as another early apostle, Thomas B. Marsh, which is incorrect. Quinn reports only Elizabeth Godkin as Marsh’s wife during the Mormon period. *Ibid.*, 564. Furthermore, Marsh was excommunicated in 1839, before men other than Joseph Smith took plural wives.

³⁶Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 53. Henderson relatives eventually took the children. Both Brooks and Corbett speak of only two children, but there was apparently also a daughter, Eunice. U.S. Census, 1850, Tooele, Utah.

³⁷Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 32.

³⁸Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 53.

Eunice Henderson,³⁹ and Jacob's four children.

Rachel and Jacob's first major challenge was crossing the plains in 1850, a harrowing experience, as an outbreak of cholera killed an estimated 2,500 overland travelers—gold rush adventurers and Mormon pioneers alike—that year. Abram Sortore, an 1850 overland traveler on his way to the California gold fields, wrote that along the Platte he was “scarcely out of sight of grave diggers.”⁴⁰ Rachel, like Jacob, survived an attack of the life-threatening disease. Hamblin recorded in his diary on June 27, “My wife violently attacked with Colery about three oclock in the morning. I prayd for hur and anointed hur in the name of the Lord. Coled [called] on Bro Pectal and Hill to administer. She was relievd immediately.”⁴¹ Hamblin's published autobiography gives added perspective: “One evening, as I returned to my wagon from assisting to bury a Sister Hunt, Sister Hamblin was taken violently with the cholera, and she exclaimed, ‘O Lord, help, or I die!’ I anointed her with consecrated oil in the name of the Lord Jesus, and she was instantly healed. The next day the cholera attacked me and I was healed under the hands of my father.”⁴²

Many members of the Hamblins' company were less fortunate. Jacob's diary continues, “[We] met the mail from the Salt Lakevalley. Capt [Aaron] Johnsons wife died of colery and Hunt's wife died of colery. Travaild fourteen miles through mud and water campt within three miles of Ft Chiles.”⁴³ In the twelve-member family of Horace Spafford, also in the Aaron Johnson company, six died within four days.⁴⁴

The Johnson company reached Salt Lake City on September 6, 1850, and Rachel and Jacob settled in Tooele two weeks later. Hamblin started to farm there but was also called into the local militia

³⁹U.S. Census, 1850, Tooele County, Utah, Household 13–13: With Rachel (Jacob is not listed) are William Henderson, seventeen, born in Kentucky, John [Henderson], fifteen, born in Indiana, Eunice [Henderson], thirteen, born in Missouri, and Jacob's four children by Lucinda.

⁴⁰Abram Sortore, quoted in Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road*, 84.

⁴¹Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 50.

⁴²Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 25.

⁴³Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 50–51.

⁴⁴Emma McDonald Cluff, “They Gave Their Lives,” in *Treasures of Pioneer History*, edited by Kate B. Carter, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1952–57), 5:450.

to repel Indian attacks and raids for livestock that had started in early 1849. Hamblin probably served in the militia in 1851, and certainly did by spring 1852.⁴⁵ The Hamblins became close friends of the widowed Sarah Sturdevant Leavitt and her family. Her son, Dudley, twenty years old in September 1850, later went on many dangerous journeys with Hamblin. Dudley's sister, Priscilla, nine years old in September 1850, later became Jacob's third wife.⁴⁶

SARAH PRISCILLA LEAVITT

Priscilla was born in Nauvoo on May 8, 1841, to Jeremiah Leavitt and Sarah Sturdevant Leavitt, the youngest of their twelve children. She reportedly had "a heavy head of coal-black hair and blue eyes" and was tall and slender. The family, converted in Canada in 1837, was already thoroughly Mormon at her birth. Jeremiah died in August 1846, so the family crossed the plains fatherless in 1850, when Priscilla was nine. Aside from Priscilla's memories preserved in the Arrott memoirs, her mother, Sarah, left an autobiography,⁴⁷ which communicates clearly that she was a force to be reckoned with, strong-minded and indefatigable, as Priscilla would be.

Priscilla remembers Rachel as already "almost an invalid," often bedridden, during her Tooele years from September 1850 to September 1855, so Priscilla often tended the six children in the Hamblin household—seven after Jacob adopted Albert in 1851 or 1853, when he was about ten years old. It is typical of Priscilla that she first entered the Hamblin household as a hard worker, helping others. Rachel and Jacob's first child, Lois, was born in Tooele on June 15, 1851, and a second, the prophecy-fulfilling Joseph, was born on October 6, 1854.⁴⁸

Hamblin's autobiography during this period is filled with his dealings with hostile Indians in the mountains outside Tooele. However, Priscilla's memories of Tooele, as transmitted by Arrott, emphasize the community and its growing "civilization": "We had square dances, molasses candy pulls, and many kinds of games and contests. We enjoyed the basket dances and contest parties; and had picnics,

⁴⁵Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 53–60.

⁴⁶Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 49; Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 24.

⁴⁷Juanita Leavitt Pulsipher [Brooks], ed., *History of Sarah Sturdevant Leavitt* (N.p.: 1919), copy at Utah State Historical Society.

⁴⁸Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 52. Lois married Hubert Rosell Burk in 1868.

house-raising, and quiltings every few days. Everyone was so good to each other and there was very little gossip and contention.”⁴⁹

In April 1854, Jacob set out on the first of his missions to the Lamanites in southern Utah, leaving Rachel, two months pregnant, with the approximately six children in Tooele. In June 1855, he returned to find his family and the community in a difficult situation. He wrote in his diary, “The grasshoppers had eaten all the wheet and most of the vegsables. Thare was evry prospect of a famin. I comenced fix a [fixing] to Situate my family to leeve them again but Brigham Young he told me to take my family and go South and not neglect my Micion when I got them thare.”⁵⁰

Thus, Rachel was called, second-hand, to Dixie. Jacob headed a little band of Indian missionaries and their families, which included, at his request, his brother, twenty-one-year-old Oscar, possibly his brother William, then twenty-four-years old, Dudley Leavitt, and their families. Sarah and Priscilla Leavitt also accompanied the group. They left Tooele on September 11, 1855.⁵¹ Rachel would turn thirty-four in four days; Priscilla was fourteen.

Rachel and Priscilla settled in Santa Clara, near present-day St. George, but Rachel also lived at times in Fort Harmony, Pine Valley, and Pinto Creek in primitive conditions with a large family, now with her own two (eventually five) children, and at least two or three adopted Indian children. Hamblin’s diaries add little to our knowledge of Rachel. He typically would record a homecoming and say he was happy to find his family well. On August 3, 1856, when the family was in Pine Valley, he wrote, “My wife was delivard of a Daughter. She was Sick [only] about 2 houars through the blessings of the Lord.”⁵² However, Priscilla reports that Rachel’s health deteriorated signifi-

⁴⁹Arrott, “Sarah Priscilla,” 24.

⁵⁰Hamblin, 1854–58 Diaries, June [no day], 1855.

⁵¹Ibid., Sept. 11, 1855; Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 57.

⁵²Hamblin, 1854–58 Diaries, August 3, 1856. This child was Rachel Tamar Hamblin (later Thomas). Mary Minerva Dart Judd, Autobiography, holograph, narrative section finished after 1881, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, wrote, “Br Jacob Hamblin took his wife Rachel Judd Hamblin up to Pine valley as it was cooler and healthier to live for the summer. Her daughter Tamer was born there. That was 1856.” Mary was Zadok Judd’s wife.

cantly after giving birth to this baby.⁵³ Just six days later when Rachel would still have been recuperating from the birth, Hamblin moved his family to Pinto Creek. Then he wrote, "I left my Family at this plase and went to Ft. Clara to attend to my Micion."⁵⁴ In October the Hamblins relocated to Santa Clara, where Rachel reportedly taught the first school in Dixie.

As in Rachel's case, Jacob's marriage to Priscilla is well documented. In her memoirs, Priscilla stated, "One day, as Jacob sat on Rachel's bed talking to her, she told him to ask me to be his wife so that he would have someone to care for his children when she was gone. Calling me to them, Rachel put my hand in Jacob's and Jacob asked me to become his wife."⁵⁵ If Priscilla's memories are correct, this proposal was another almost instantaneous one, although Hamblin had known Priscilla for years.⁵⁶ Priscilla went home and consulted her mother, who did not object to the marriage.

However, that account of the proposal is probably telescoped, since other traditions give fuller versions. According to one retelling, Hamblin asked Sarah Leavitt for sixteen-year-old Priscilla's hand. Sarah replied, "She is too young, Jacob. Give her a chance to grow up."

Hamblin replied, "Why don't we ask her? Call her in and let's talk to her about it." Priscilla came in at that point. "Priscilla, I have just asked your mother's permission to marry you," said Jacob, "and she is leaving the decision up to you. Could you marry an old man like me [he was thirty-eight] who loves and honors you very much?"

She replied, "Oh, yes. Yes, I can."

"I'll want to go to the City [Salt Lake City] with Brother [George A.] Smith when he comes. Thales [Haskell] will be going up too, and we plan to take some Indian Chiefs along."

Sarah protested: "But she has no wedding dress, nothing much in the way of a trousseau. A mother needs time for these things and the girl needs time, too."

⁵³Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 25.

⁵⁴Hamblin, 1854–58 Diaries, August 9, 1856. For the move to Pinto Creek, see Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 104.

⁵⁵Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 25–26.

⁵⁶Juanita Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 72, tells the story in the context of Hamblin's appointment as president of the Indian Mission. He and Rachel understood that, in this leadership position, he would be expected to take a plural wife.

Jacob agreed: "I felt that we should go to the Endowment House; but if you would rather wait a month or so, maybe we could just go to Parowan and have the president of the stake perform the ceremony."⁵⁷

But the strong-minded Priscilla said, "No Brother Jacob, I'll be ready to go with you when the company is ready to leave for the city."⁵⁸

Priscilla "decided that I loved this family well enough to help them, and to give them my love and care."⁵⁹ Thus, she fell in love with a family, not just a man. Priscilla entered the family with her eyes wide open: "Since Brother Jacob had to be away from home so much on church business and missionary work with the Indians, I felt very humble in accepting this great responsibility."⁶⁰

They were sealed in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City on September 11, 1857, the same day that the Mountain Meadows Massacre occurred in southern Utah.⁶¹ On their way back from Salt Lake, Hamblin had to ride ahead to help deal with crises in the aftermath of

⁵⁷Priscilla Hamblin, quoted in Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 73. This story conflicts somewhat with the Arrott version, but Brooks's close ties to Leavitt sources and her skill as a historian should be taken into consideration.

⁵⁸Colleen Arrott Carnahan, *Sarah Priscilla Leavitt Hamblin: A Pioneer Midwife* (Salt Lake City: Privately published, 1997), 13–14. This version parallels the Brooks retelling, with slight variations.

⁵⁹Priscilla Hamblin, quoted in Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 26. Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives Than One* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 121, collects examples of men marrying single women, often widows, to give them financial support in pioneer Utah. However, young Priscilla purposefully joined the Hamblin family to help *them*. Furthermore, Rachel suggested the marriage, indicating its origin in the strong ties between the two women. Far from the classic anti-Mormon view of older Mormon men forcing younger wives into unwanted marriages, Hamblin might not have considered proposing to Priscilla without Rachel's initiative. Though in the Brooks version of the story (but not in Arrott), Hamblin's call to the mission presidency precipitated the marriage, Rachel still nominated Priscilla as a plural wife "to help some with the chores. She's so full of life and vigor." Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 73.

⁶⁰Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 26.

⁶¹See Juanita Brooks, *Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950; rpt., Nor-

the massacre, so Priscilla had her first experience of stepping back while he fulfilled a Church assignment.

Rachel is a significant character in a story related to the massacre.⁶² Hamblin pastured his cattle on the northern section of the meadows, and his family lived there during the summers. By August 1857 (probably earlier), he had located Rachel and the children at Mountain Meadows and had made arrangements for two men (one was Indian missionary Samuel Knight) to build them an adobe home. Then he set off for Salt Lake City to introduce ten Paiute chiefs to Brigham Young and to be sealed to Priscilla.

On September 11, Rachel, about four miles north of the Fancher train encampment, heard the shooting. She was tending Caroline Knight, Samuel Knight's wife, who was recovering from a difficult childbirth Rachel had midwived.⁶³ Then Knight drove up in a wagon containing the children who had survived the massacre, including a girl about one or two years of age whose arm had been severely injured by a bullet. The children were probably suffering from acute shock after having witnessed the murder of their parents. Rachel cleaned and bound the wound of the injured child, held and comforted her, then fed mush to the rest of the children. She prayed with them, then laid straw on the floor, put blankets over it and got them to sleep, including the wounded girl. Then she returned to caring for Caroline, who had gone into hysterics when she saw blood on her husband's clothes.⁶⁴

Major James H. Carleton, a U.S. military investigator, interviewed Rachel after the massacre and stated that her testimony seemed to be derivative of her husband's.⁶⁵ However, he added, "when she told of the 17 orphan children who were brought by such a crowd to her house of one small room there in the darkness of night,

man University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 69–109; Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets*, 140–60. The Fancher party, an emigrant party of between 65 and 120 non-Mormon men, women and children, was massacred at Mountain Meadows by a group of Latter-day Saints combined with some local Indians. See Bagley, 4–5, and Brooks, xix–xxiv, for the number of victims.

⁶²Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, 216.

⁶³See Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 76–77, for Rachel as midwife.

⁶⁴Brooks, *John Doyle Lee*, 216.

⁶⁵"Mrs. Hamblin . . . evidently looks with the eyes of her husband at everything." James Henry Carleton, *Special Report of the Mountain Meadow*

two of the children cruelly mangled and the most of them with their parents' blood still wet upon their clothes, and all of them shrieking with terror and grief and anguish, her own mother heart was touched. She at least deserves kind consideration for her care and nourishment of the three sisters, and for all she did for the little girl" whose arm had been wounded.⁶⁶

When Hamblin reached Rachel on September 18, he "found my family living out of doors exposed to wind and rain. I had engaged two men to build a small adobe house, but they had done nothing worth mentioning in my absence. I found two little girls, one 2 & the other 5 years old, in the care of my wife, that had been saved from the Massacre at that place on the 10th inst. The youngest had been shot through the arm with a large ball cutting the arm half off. My family were in a bad situation, My wife had to nurse the wounded child constantly, having small children of her own, it made her situation extremely disagreeable."⁶⁷

Priscilla, meanwhile, had witnessed the corpses lying unburied at Mountain Meadows while driving by, and the horror of that quick view never left her: "Such a ghastly, brutal and appalling scene met my gaze that I would not try to describe it to anyone," she later said. She recalled the months following the massacre as "sad, gloomy days." Typically, she countered the depression by hard work: "planning, sewing, washing, making cheese and butter, caring for the sick, and trying to comfort those who had been through such tragedy."⁶⁸

For the rest of Rachel's life, Priscilla was an important factor in the Hamblin family, especially since Rachel never regained her health completely. While the history of polygamy contains many examples of tension between older and younger wives, in this case the two wives

Massacre (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902). This report is dated May 25, 1859. It is published on the Mountain Meadows Association website, <http://www.mtn-meadows-assoc.com/> (accessed January 4, 2007).

⁶⁶The Carleton report quotes Jacob Hamblin as saying that Rachel was caring for three children, ages "six or seven years of age, the next about three, and the next about one," Rebecca, Louisa, and Sara Dunlap. Sara, the youngest, had the wounded arm.

⁶⁷Hamblin, 1854–58 Diaries, September 19, 1857.

⁶⁸Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 27–28.

became very close: "She gave me her wisdom and help, and I returned to her my trust and love," wrote Priscilla.⁶⁹ According to family tradition, Priscilla once offered Jacob especially good and plentiful food, and he promised her a reward. Rachel whispered, "Tell him he can give you that [especially large] piece of dark blue dress goods." Each woman got a dress as a result.⁷⁰ So sometimes these two would join forces in dealing with their husband. Rachel reportedly supervised the weaving in the Hamblin home, teaching the two Paiute adopted daughters, Ellen and Fanny, to do superb textile work, while Priscilla supervised the kitchen.

In fall 1859, when Hamblin was on his second mission to the Hopis, some Indian men unexpectedly entered Fort Clara. Rachel, quick-witted and courageous, offered them bread to eat in her home; and while they were distracted, secretly dispatched a boy to alert men working nearby. The Indians promptly left when they discovered that help was on the way.⁷¹

It is possible that the Indians meant no harm, but the incident shows the real fears and isolation that women on the frontier often felt. Julie Jeffreys observes, "Even when white women hired Indians or bartered with them, few felt entirely comfortable. Friendly Indians had the unnerving habit of appearing silently, wanting food or just a look at a white woman and her children. Many white women believed that native men were particularly aggressive when white husbands were away from the homestead. They found the Indians' scavenging for food frightening, especially when the men carried weapons, which white women assumed, usually wrongly, were meant to be used against them. Not surprisingly, women often reacted aggressively."⁷² This is just one of many examples of the cultural divide between Europeans and Indians in the far West.

ELIZA, OF THE SHIVWITS

In December 1861, John Lee Jones of Cedar City helped guide a group of Swiss immigrants over the difficult wagon road from Iron County to the Santa Clara settlement. This group may have included Jacob Hamblin's future wife, Louisa Bonelli. Jones wrote, "We found

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 231.

⁷¹Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 63–64.

⁷²Jeffreys, *Frontier Women*, 72–73.

it Much warmer here. The Snow had Melted from among the Rocks w[h]ere there was a Kind of Dry Bunch Grass which furnished feed for our Oxen during Our Journey to the Santa Clara River, here we found a Small Fort built of Adobies & was first Founded by Bro 'Jacob Hamlin' who had one of the Indian Squas or a Female Lamanit for a wife, This was quite a Novel Circimstance to Me."⁷³ Corbett only reluctantly admits that Hamblin married Eliza and expresses skepticism about Jones's account because he says adobes were used in the stone Santa Clara Fort.⁷⁴ However, adobe was a common fort material in Utah and could be readily combined with stone.⁷⁵

The Endowment House record of a sealing between Jacob and Eliza establishes this marriage beyond question; yet Priscilla's autobiography, at least as rendered by Arrott, flatly denied any such marriage. According to her, Brigham Young, while visiting Arizona, encouraged Jacob to take a Lamanite plural wife. Hamblin reputedly joked, "I will, if you will, Brigham." But then he turned serious and reportedly said, "No, Brigham; if we did that we would be considered as squaw men."⁷⁶ We would lose our influence as leaders among all Indians."⁷⁷

Since Hamblin indisputably married at least one Indian woman, Priscilla's story must be rejected. Possibly she heard the story sec-

⁷³Clynn L. Davenport, comp., "Biography of John Lee Jones, 1841-1935," Special Collections, Gerald R. Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University, Cedar City. See also Brooks, "Indian Relations," 43-44.

⁷⁴Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 215.

⁷⁵Martha Sonntag Bradley, *A History of Kane County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1999), 60. Adobe was also often used to build buildings inside a fort. In addition, sometimes forts could be constructed of one material, then covered with mud and adobe. Richard Roberts and Richard W. Sadler, *A History of Weber County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1997), 59.

⁷⁶For the derogatory term "squaw man," see Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 95, in which Dudley Leavitt's wife Thirza initially rejected the arrival of Dudley's Indian wife, whom he had just married. See also Juanita Brooks, *Quicksand and Cactus: A Memoir of the Southern Mormon Frontier* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1992), 43.

⁷⁷Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 33; Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 413, cites an interview with Lawson Hamblin, grandson of Jacob Hamblin, as his source for this story.

ond-hand. Yet it is a valuable tradition, showing that some Mormons of Jacob Hamblin's generation viewed intermarriage with Native Americans as degrading or shameful. Nevertheless, intermarriage between Mormons and Paiutes occurred not infrequently in the southern Utah mission. Dudley Leavitt and Ira Hatch, both friends of Hamblin, indisputably married Indian wives.⁷⁸ But as southern Utah became more "civilized," family histories, even those written by descendants of Indians, tended to downplay native forebears.⁷⁹ Juanita Brooks summarized in 1944, "Whether or not Jacob Hamblin ever married an Indian woman has been a debated question. Many of the family resent even the suggestion with surprising bitterness and emphasis. Others say that Jacob did marry an Indian girl."⁸⁰ This issue has lost its volatility with time, leaving us free to observe the poignant arc of Eliza Hamblin's life, oddly reminiscent of Lucinda's, despite the cultural chasm between them.

Hamblin was active in purchasing and raising Native American children.⁸¹ Mormons felt that they purchased children—from Indians who had kidnapped or bought them—to prevent them from being sold into slavery to Mexicans, and to prevent them from being abused

⁷⁸Brooks, *On the Ragged Frontier*, 93–96, 168. Brooks, *Quicksand and Cactus*, 47–49, records visits to her grandfather's Indian plural wife, Janet. See also Ezra C. Robinson, *The Life of Ira Hatch: Famous Indian Missionary and Scout* (n.p., n.d.), 5–10, copy at Special Collections, Sherratt Library, Southern Utah University. This booklet, not a diary or autobiography, nevertheless preserves Hatch genealogy and traditions. Hatch's marriage to an Indian woman named Sarah is widely known. According to Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 215, Hatch also married Lucinda, one of Hamblin's adopted Indian children.

⁷⁹Brooks, "Indian Relations," 41–42.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 42.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 41. See also William J. Snow, "Utah Indians and the Spanish Slave Trade," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (July 1929): 67–73; L. R. Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1973), 144–45; Stephen Van Hoak, "'And Who Shall Have the Children?' The Indian Slave Trade in the Southern Great Basin, 1800–1865," *Nevada Historical Quarterly* 41 (1998): 3–25; John Alton Peterson, *Utah's Black Hawk War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999), 63–69; Sondra Jones, "'Redeeming the Indian': The Enslavement of Indian Children in New Mexico and Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 67 (Summer 1999): 220–41. The slave trade declined after the Walker War (Walker/Waccara died in 1855), but

by their captors. They regarded themselves as buying the children into freedom and argued that they were also educating the children and teaching them useful trades. These goals fit well with their religious mission to convert the people they considered to be descendants of the Book of Mormon "Lamanites" to Mormonism.

Non-Mormons in Utah viewed this situation less positively.⁸² Sondra Jones argues that the Mormons enslaved the Indians when they adopted them and treated their Indian charges no better or no worse than Catholics in New Mexico.⁸³ The Mormons of early Utah would have strongly disagreed. Indians were "indentured servants" in Mormon homes but also, in a sense, adopted children. They were taught to work hard, but so were white children. Undoubtedly some Indian children were ill-treated, but in other cases they became members of the family.

However one views the complex issue of Indian adoption in Mormon homes, Jacob Hamblin and his wives raised at least seven

Utes still continued to trade with New Mexicans (children for guns). Mormon settlements among the Paiutes effectively stopped the Ute raids. Van Hoak, "And Who Shall Have the Children," 18. While Mormons might feel proud of this achievement, Van Hoak also observes that Mormon appropriation of Paiute lands drove them to the brink of starvation.

⁸²Brooks, "Indian Relations," 15–16.

⁸³Jones, "Redeeming the Indian," 229–30. She writes: "Although they attempted direct proselyting and agricultural missionary work, Utahns also came to agree that in the long run Indians were more likely to be 'redeemed' through a modified form of child enslavement, with concomitant conversion and acculturation. Although the 1852 laws outlawed slavery, they formally legalized the trade in Indian children that Brigham Young had urged the year before by establishing an indenturing procedure so that Indian children were legally bound to a family, paying back their purchase price through labor until they were emancipated at their majority or after as long as twenty years. Most children were taken into families and raised as foster children, and foster parents were expected to give the children the same clothing, education, work, and religious training that they gave their own children. However, as with any indenture, these children could be, and often were, traded and bartered between families. And occasionally they were purchased and carried for trade into other communities." Van Hoak, "And Who Shall Have the Children," 17, counters that "the Mormons were more benevolent than New Mexicans" with Paiute children.

such children, including Eliza. Neither the names of her parents nor her birth name have been preserved, but she evidently was connected with the Shivwits. In her 1863 temple sealing to Hamblin, she is referred to as “Eliza, born on the Shivwit Reservation.”⁸⁴ There was no Shivwit Reservation in 1863, so the temple recorder must have meant Shivwit territory. According to Paiute researcher William Palmer, the Shivwits were a band of Paiutes living in a territory extending from the Arizona Strip up into the Santa Clara River and Virgin River areas.⁸⁵ Eliza was probably a local Paiute living on the Santa Clara River. Palmer further observes:

The Shebits Indians proper were a people of small stature the men measuring from four and a half to five and a half feet in height. They were a timid, retiring people who lived for the most part down among the broken and rocky points along the Virgin and Colorado rivers. When strangers appeared they had a way of scuttling off like squirrels to their hideouts in the rocks. There were several colonies of Shebits. Their country skirted the Virgin and Colorado rivers fronts from Littlefield, Arizona south and east to the Hurricane Fault. They were as a tribe comparatively numerous but they were very shy and hard to contact. They spoke the Pahute language and were classed as Pahutes.⁸⁶

Eliza was probably close to Ellen, another Indian adopted by the Hamblins. Eliza was apparently raised by Rachel and Ellen by Priscilla. In 1857, the Hamblin family had two Indian girls, one

⁸⁴Salt Lake Temple Records, Book D, p. 543, cited in Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 42 note 75.

⁸⁵William Palmer, “Utah Indians Past and Present: An Etymological and Historical Study of Tribes and Tribal Names from Original Sources,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 1 (April 1928): 35–52, 47–48. See also William Palmer, “Pahute Indian Homelands,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 6 (July 1933): 88–102; and LaVan Martineau, *Southern Paiutes: Legends, Lore, Language and Lineage* (Las Vegas, Nev.: KC Publications, 1992), 154–70. For the Paiutes more generally, see Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, *Nuwuwi: A Southern Paiute History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1976); Gary Tom and Ronald Holt, “The Paiute Tribe of Utah,” in *A History of Utah’s American Indians*, edited by Forrest S. Cuch (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs, 2000), 123–66; Martha C. Knack, *Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes, 1775–1995* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

⁸⁶Palmer, “Pahute Indian Homelands,” 100.

about twelve and the other about ten, and two boys, according to a visiting Indian agent, who added that Hamblin had obtained them four years earlier.⁸⁷ But we cannot be sure that one of the four was Eliza.

Eliza must have shown industry and intelligence, for Hamblin married her, apparently before he undertook his third Hopi mission in October-November 1860. "He [Hamblin], like Ira Hatch, married an Indian woman whom he loved devotedly," says an Ira Hatch family biography.⁸⁸ According to this source, both Hamblin and Ira Hatch brought Indian wives with them on that disastrous third mission to the Hopis, during which Apostle George A. Smith's son, George A. Smith Jr., was killed by Navajos while searching for a wandering horse. According to Ezra C. Robinson's biography of Hatch, "The hostile Navajos claimed the wife of Hatch as a member of their tribe." (Her father was Navajo, her mother Paiute.) Hatch had to defend her vigorously to keep her from being abducted.⁸⁹

Hamblin's published memoirs state: "We had taken two Indian women with us, thinking that they might be a great help in introducing something like cleanliness in cooking, among the people we were going to visit. The Navajos said we might go home if we would leave them. I directed the interpreter to, tell them that one of the women was Brother Hatch's wife, and the other was mine."⁹⁰

According to Hamblin family tradition, reported by Juanita Brooks, Eliza "resented Rachel's supervision and would not obey

⁸⁷George W. Armstrong, Indian agent, Letter to Brigham Young, June 30, 1857, in *Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1857*, Document No. 131, p. 309. See also Brooks, "Indian Relations," 41.

⁸⁸Robinson, *The Life of Ira Hatch*, 5.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 1, 10. Robinson refers to Hatch's wife as "Sarah Spaneshank," apparently the daughter of Spaneshank, a Navajo chief.

⁹⁰Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 67. Priscilla agrees that Hamblin took a young Native American woman with him on this trip "to interpret and do the camp cooking," but does not view her as a wife. She also mistakenly calls her Ellen, perhaps the confusion resulting from her old age. Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 32.

her. 'I am as much his wife as you are,' she said one day."⁹¹ This is the first sign of tension in Eliza's story, but it does not explain why Jacob would have concealed the marriage from Rachel and Priscilla.

Another major chapter in the epic of settling Santa Clara was the flood of mid-January 1862, which washed away Fort Clara, where the Hamblins were living.⁹² According to family traditions, as the rain thundered down in the evening, Hamblin was ready to go to bed, but Priscilla warned him that the rain was getting dangerous and he should stay up. He replied, "Priscilla, you are too concerned," and went to bed anyway. Soon a neighbor knocked on the door, calling, "Jake, are you going to lay there and be washed away?"⁹³

The fort was indeed being washed into the river, and the Mormons had to act quickly to save their lives and salvage a few possessions. Jacob was almost carried away twice by the rising water. Since Rachel was ill, the main responsibility for moving the children and household to higher land fell on Priscilla, now twenty-one, and mother of a three-year-old and an eight-month-old baby. Hamblin family stories of the flood do not mention Eliza, but presumably she was also helping. According to Corbett, "The water running between the fort and the bluff was now knee-deep. Priscilla and the children worked fast in the darkness carrying everything of value they could to the bluff on the upper side. She made so many trips she couldn't count them. On one trip she carried five little children, one in her arms and four others clinging to her skirts. It was fortunate they had a rope tied to the fort gate leading to a tree on the high ground which served as a safety line over the torrent and through darkness so black they could almost feel it." The Hamblins took what shelter they could under canvas spread over a sheep corral.

That afternoon, Priscilla had finished the ironing and set it out on a rack on the wall of her home to dry. That wall was one of the first to go into the river, prompting her exasperated comment, "I only owned two aprons, I was wearing the old one, and my good one

⁹¹Brooks, "Indian Relations," 43.

⁹²For the disputed dating of the flood in Santa Clara, see Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee*, 2 vols. (1955; rpt., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), January 18 [19], 1862, 2:6.

⁹³Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 200.

was buried in the red Santa Clara flood.” She also reportedly said: “There was no time for self-pity, there was work to be done, and much of it; shelters were made, and the mothers had to make them pleasant to live in.”⁹⁴ She also had the chief care of Rachel, who had been carried to the bluff “and laid on a mattress on the ground exposed to a drenching rain and chilling winds.”⁹⁵ This trauma tipped her precarious health into a steady decline.

The only good outcome of the flood was that Hamblin agreed to build a fine new house for his family on higher ground. This building still stands in Santa Clara, owned by the LDS Church, and staffed by senior couple missionaries.

In 1863, Hamblin reportedly felt serious enough about both Ellen and Eliza that he wanted to be sealed to them. Brooks reports as a “legend” that Jacob took Rachel, Ellen, and Eliza “to the Endowment House in Salt Lake City. Here Eliza was sealed to Jacob, but Ellen refused.” Eliza’s sealing is substantiated by an entry in the sealing records on February 14, 1863.⁹⁶ However, she separated from the Hamblin family soon after the sealing, returned to the Shivwits band, married a man named Polunkin, and bore him at least one child.⁹⁷ This must have been a blow to Jacob, who was reportedly very attached to her and who had made a permanent declaration by the sealing.

No information has been preserved about Eliza’s motives nor about her experience in returning to her native culture, from which she had probably been separated for some fifteen years. Had she gotten used to “European” food? Was there enough to eat, as there had been in Jacob’s household? How was she treated as a woman and a wife? After the culture shock of entering into American Mormon culture when she was small, how much of a shock was her reentry into Paiute life?

Those questions remain unanswered. There is a family tradition that Eliza, with her child, asked to rejoin the Hamblin household, but

⁹⁴Ibid., 202.

⁹⁵Ibid., 246–47; Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge*, 102–3.

⁹⁶Brooks, “Indian Relations,” 42 note 75. Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 215, identifies Daniel H. Wells as the officiator. Brooks, *Quicksand and Cactus*, 43, reports a conversation with Mary Leavitt, wife of Dudley Leavitt, who refers to Eliza as “Suzie.”

⁹⁷Mary Leavitt, as quoted in Brooks, *Quicksand and Cactus*, 43. Mary calls Eliza’s Shivwit husband “Old Poinkum.” Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 215.

Jacob refused.⁹⁸ Possibly she was one of those unfortunate Indians who was caught between two cultures, not fitting into either one.⁹⁹ Nothing more is known about her later life.

RACHEL'S DEATH

Although Hamblin could exhibit great kindness and affection for his wives and children, he also had an opposing "centrifugal" urge to be away from them frequently, an urge that is only partially explained by his devotion to his assignment as an Indian missionary. He clearly had a restless streak and enjoyed being in the wilderness, either alone or with a small group of Mormons, or among Indians. Major family events often occurred in his absence. For example, when he returned from his fifth visit to the Hopis on May 15, 1863, Priscilla held up her three-day-old baby and announced: "I want you to meet your daughter, 'Lucy,'" she said.¹⁰⁰

In 1865, while Jacob was absent on his seventh visit to the Hopis, Priscilla nursed Rachel in her final illness. According to Corbett, "Rachel would express her thanks to her over and over. When she knew she was going to die, she said to Priscilla, 'Priscilla, you have been so kind to me. After I die and am resurrected I hope you're the first one I meet.' Priscilla answered, 'The load will be easy if you stand true to your trust and depend on the Lord.'" Priscilla was pregnant, and Rachel told her the baby would be a son and to name it Jacob. Rachel died on February 18 in Priscilla's arms. "The place would never be the same again without this one of God's angels, whom He had called to leave us," Priscilla later wrote.¹⁰¹ The closeness of their bond must have compensated on some level for Jacob's many absences.¹⁰² In fact, Jacob returned on March 18, and three days later, Priscilla gave birth to the promised son.

Priscilla became renowned as a healer and nurse, and she fol-

⁹⁸Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 215; Brooks, "Indian Relations," 42.

⁹⁹Brooks, "Indian Relations," 47-48.

¹⁰⁰Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 227.

¹⁰¹Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 30; see also Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 246-47.

¹⁰²In many polygamous families, wives developed close relationships to compensate for the frequent absence of their husband. Irwin Altman and Joseph Ginat, *Polygamous Families in Contemporary Society* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 380-83.

lowed her mother in becoming a midwife. When adopted Indian daughter Ellen contracted a fatal infection after stepping on a sharp stick, Ellen absolutely refused to let Priscilla leave the room. One night Priscilla, sleeping in the same room, awoke to find Ellen sleeping at her feet.¹⁰³ One senses that Priscilla's sympathy and kindness were valued equally with her skills.

Hamblin was also absent when a group of "painted Indians" on horseback approached the Santa Clara house. One rode right up the steps, across the front porch, through the door, and into Priscilla's kitchen. However, when he reached out for a biscuit, Priscilla beat the horse on its head, and it backed out of the house, almost throwing its rider. "Hump! Jacob has heap brave squaw!" the man reportedly said.¹⁰⁴ This tale contrasts with Priscilla's feelings of tenderness toward Ellen. Male Indians still living in their own culture were threatening (and perhaps acted in a threatening way), while young female Indians who had become acculturated to life in a white household were valued.¹⁰⁵

Given Eliza's ambivalent status or absence, it seemed that Priscilla was now Hamblin's sole wife. But less than a year later, on November 16, 1865, Jacob married twenty-two-year-old Louisa Bonelli.

LOUISA BONELLI

Louisa was born on October 29, 1843, in Weingarten, Switzerland, near Berne, to Hans Georg Bonelli and Anna Maria Ammann.

¹⁰³Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 35–36; Brooks, "Indian Relations," 41–42; Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 235.

¹⁰⁴Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 39.

¹⁰⁵Whites and natives also had contrasting cultural assumptions about hospitality and property. While Priscilla might have viewed the Indian's actions as arrogant, he might have viewed her as inhospitable. For pioneer women and Native Americans more generally, see Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825–1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984). Riley concludes that, while women often came to the frontier with deep fears and prejudices concerning Indians (and there were violent clashes that sometimes reinforced those fears), they often developed empathy for natives, while their husbands usually did not. See esp. chaps. 4–5, pp. 121–204.

Her brother Daniel eventually became a close friend of Jacob Hamblin and a colonizer in Nevada and Arizona.¹⁰⁶ According to a short biography which preserves some of Louisa's own statements,¹⁰⁷ she learned the value of physical labor early: "At the age of six years she had the task of knitting all of the stockings for the family of eight. She never had time to play but would watch the other children while she sat knitting."¹⁰⁸

In 1852, when Louisa was nine, her family was baptized into the LDS Church, reportedly through a hole broken in the ice on a day so cold their baptismal clothes froze to their bodies. Louisa suffered persecution for her Mormonism in her local school, so her parents sent her to Berne, where she could attend school with other Mormons. The Bonellis began saving to emigrate.

In 1857, when Louisa was fourteen, they traveled to Liverpool, then sailed on the *George Washington* to Boston. "I never was seasick and didn't know enough to be afraid," Louisa said later. "I used to stand on the deck and watch the great waves roll up. Sometimes they would wash over me but I held on to the post and enjoyed it."¹⁰⁹

The Bonellis arrived at the Missouri River in May 1857 and traveled in the Sixth Handcart Company, departing May 22.¹¹⁰ Louisa remembered the journey as idyllic: "The weather was warm and lovely. I walked all the 1,300 miles to the Salt Lake Valley, helping to pull a cart

¹⁰⁶Waldo C. Perkins, "From Switzerland to the Colorado River: Life Sketch of the Entrepreneurial Daniel Bonelli, the Forgotten Pioneer," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 74, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 4–23.

¹⁰⁷"Louisa Bonelli Hamblin," in Roberta Flake Clayton, ed., *Pioneer Women of Arizona* (Mesa, Ariz.: Privately published, 1969), 188–91. Clayton quotes statements as if Louisa spoke or wrote them; regardless of possible questions about authorship, the content of the statements seems reliable to me.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 188.

¹¹⁰Starr, *Jacob Vernon Hamblin*, 74. See also Leroy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion: The Story of a Unique Western Migration, 1856–1860* (1960; rpt., Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 1992), 153–57. For a memoir that parallels Louisa's, see Mary Ann Hafen, *Recollections of a Handcart Pioneer of 1860: A Woman's Life on the Mormon Frontier* (1938; rpt., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).

most of the way. In the company was a crippled girl about eight years of age. She had to be carried all the way. I had my turn at carrying her on my back. As time for making camp neared, the children were permitted to leave the train and gather fuel (buffalo chips) for the camp fire. This was like letting school out.”¹¹¹ Louisa wore wooden shoes, which would often get stuck in the mud.

The Bonellis arrived at Salt Lake on September 12. In Salt Lake, Hans Bonelli started a spinning and weaving business. Louisa was an expert spinner and cook. In 1861, when she was eighteen, the Bonellis were called to help colonize Santa Clara in a company of Swiss Saints headed by Daniel. There the Bonellis and Hamblins became acquainted. Georgia Lewis, apparently a journalist who interviewed Louisa’s descendants, reports that Louisa turned down many prospective suitors. When Jacob asked her father for permission to marry her, George had reservations because of the “difference in age. Also George Bonelli knew that . . . Louisa would . . . be the fifth [actually, second living] wife to Jacob Hamblin and George Bonelli did not think this was an ideal situation for this lovely young daughter. But Louisa begged her father to agree to the marriage, and eventually he gave his consent.”¹¹² Thus, family tradition sees Louisa as eager for the marriage. Non-Mormon Frederick Dellenbaugh wrote, “Why she ever married ‘Old Jacob’ was a mystery for she was not old and was rather attractive in her personal appearance.”¹¹³ While it was common for older men to marry younger women of childbearing age in Utah,¹¹⁴ Louisa may have felt a bit of hero worship for the prominent Indian missionary, a spiritual leader in the community. Hamblin was also comparatively well-to-do in Santa Clara.

Having a new wife did not turn Jacob into more of a home-

¹¹¹Clayton, *Pioneer Women*, 188.

¹¹²Georgia Lewis, quoted in Starr, *Jacob Vernon Hamblin*, 81.

¹¹³Frederick Dellenbaugh, handwritten comments on Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, opposite title page. See Appendix to this article.

¹¹⁴B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 93–94. In addition, “dynastic” alliances often required that young women marry older men. Thomas G. Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 230.

body and he still spent “most of the time amongst the Indians.”¹¹⁵ Georgia Lewis preserves a vignette of Louisa asking Jacob why he talked to himself so much. Jacob replied: “I have two good reasons. First I like to talk to a smart man and next I like to hear a smart man reply.”¹¹⁶

Louisa’s relationship with Priscilla was not as close as that of Priscilla and Rachel. Nevertheless, family traditions preserve no accounts of major tensions between them. In 1866 Hamblin lost a great deal of money in a trading venture. According to family tradition, Priscilla constantly reproached his generosity in giving credit, especially to Indians and neighbors. Eventually, Jacob sold a large herd of cattle to pay his business debts; but as it was being driven off, Priscilla put her foot down and demanded that two milk cows be left. Jacob conceded the cows.¹¹⁷

In 1867 Jacob began to think of moving to Kanab where the Navajo were very troublesome. (I have found no evidence that he was assigned to go.) Priscilla, now twenty-eight, reportedly resisted strongly; she had a comfortable stone house and was raising five of her own children, plus possibly one of Lucinda’s still at home, five of Rachel’s, and perhaps two or three Indian children. “It seemed that we were finally realizing something from our hard labors. At last, we had our home, garden and orchard,” she later wrote.¹¹⁸ Louisa, who was sharing the house and, undoubtedly, the childcare, had given birth to her first child, Walter Eugene, in April 1868. Hamblin descendants have told me that Priscilla resented the fact that Louisa did not fight hard enough to stay in Santa Clara.¹¹⁹ But Hamblin’s calling as an Indian missionary and his characteristic restlessness probably made the move inevitable. In September 1869, the Hamblins sold their home, packed up their belongings, and set out for Kanab.

An anecdote involving Priscilla during the move to Kanab has been preserved. Priscilla’s youngest, two-year-old Ella, had been given a marvelous new doll with “a porcelain face and real hair,” a rarity on

¹¹⁵Lewis, in Starr, *Jacob Vernon Hamblin*, 81.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, 81–82.

¹¹⁷Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 255–56.

¹¹⁸Arrott, “Sarah Priscilla,” 40.

¹¹⁹Corbett’s portrait of Priscilla’s resistance to the move from Santa Clara supports this tradition. *Jacob Hamblin*, 265–66.

the frontier. She accidentally left it beside a stream, remembering it miles later. As she wept inconsolably, Priscilla tried to explain that they could not delay their difficult journey to go back for it. "I told her that we could not take the time to go back for the doll. [T]he trip was so long; and I could not ask her father to wait while someone went back for it. . . . An hour lost in those days of travelling was a great loss." But when Jacob heard the reason for his daughter's tears, he rode back and found the doll.¹²⁰

In Kanab, Jacob built separate homes for his two wives. According to Priscilla, they once again began to build a comfortable home: "We had a nice young orchard . . . we also had some cattle—big roan Durham cows that were very good milkers, horses, chickens, pigs, and a good garden spot."¹²¹ Priscilla also continued nursing and midwiving. When Colorado River explorer John Wesley Powell visited Kanab, he enjoyed Priscilla's hospitality, and she made him a special pair of white leather gauntlets with large cuffs that somewhat masked his partially missing arm.¹²²

Louisa, with her Swiss thriftiness and industry, became renowned for her gardening, sewing, and hospitality. She hosted Brigham Young at her home in 1870. Frederick Dellenbaugh, who dined at Louisa's home in January 1872, recorded that of Jacob's "several wives . . . Sister Louisa was the one I came to know best and she was a good woman. We had an excellent dinner with rich cream for the coffee which was an unusual treat."¹²³ Louisa gave birth to four more children in Kanab: Inez Louisa, George Oscar, Alice Edna, and Willard Otto.

¹²⁰Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 40. Carnahan, *Sarah Priscilla Leavitt Hamblin*, 22, tells a version that makes it a trip to St. George and highlights Priscilla's sternness. An earlier instance of Hamblin's tenderheartedness toward children occurred in his Tooele period, in approximately February 1852, when Hamblin's military superiors were encouraging harsh reprisals against any Indians he found. Instead, "when I herd the schreems of the chirdrin I could not bare the thought of killing one of them. We brought them home with us gave them p[r]ovisions blankets and treated them k[i]ndley." Hamblin, *Autobiography*, 57–58. See also Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 27–29.

¹²¹Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 42.

¹²²*Ibid.*, 41.

¹²³Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage*, 174.

On December 28, 1871, Priscilla's eight-year-old Lucy died after a two-year infestation by tape worm. Though Jacob and Priscilla had taken Lucy to Salt Lake City for treatment, the medication failed and "she died in Jacob's arms," wrote Priscilla. "This was a sad time, but we were relieved to see her rest from her pain." After another similar loss, she wrote, "There was no time for grief or tears. There was work to do and loads to lift. I believe that work was the thing that saved us all—the eternal, never-ending work to keep us in food, clothing, and shelter."¹²⁴ Priscilla gave birth to two children in Kanab: Mary Elizabeth and Clara Melvina.

John D. Lee, in recording the beginning of a bitter feud with Hamblin in his diary on November 5, 1873, gives a brief glimpse of a period of marital stress in the Hamblin family: "Many kindness that I have done for him & when his wife was ready to give up & leave him on account of his neglect to her, I reasoned with her till She wept, & reconciled to him; told her that he was one of the best Men in the world, that his whole life was devoted to this cause & to stand by him without a Murmur & her [reward] would be great &c."¹²⁵ Lee does not identify which wife this is, but it seems unlikely that it would have been Priscilla.

This incident raises the question of how well Hamblin supported his wives. Undoubtedly, he was absent from home for months at a time; but when he was home, he was an effective farmer and rancher. He was comparatively well-to-do, for a southern Utah pioneer, as he owned substantial houses, owned herds of cattle and sheep, and had gardens and orchards in Santa Clara and Kanab. In addition, his older children could help farm and herd in his absences. Still, Indian missionaries often felt that their families were ill-provided for during their exhausting, dangerous missions.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, while they lived in Utah, the Hamblin families were comparatively secure economically.

¹²⁴Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 37.

¹²⁵Cleland and Brooks, *A Mormon Chronicle*, November 5, 1873, 2:306.

¹²⁶For example, Ammon Tenney, Jacob Hamblin's companion in a number of his journeys south of the Colorado, wrote to his niece, "I was neglected I served the People in Maintaining Peace for 15 years, & Never received in that entire time to exceed 175 dollars . . . [we, the Indian missionaries, were] being used to Protect the People while the People were in the

ON THE LITTLE COLORADO

By 1877, Hamblin prepared to move south again, this time to eastern Arizona and nearby New Mexico.¹²⁷ Priscilla refers to this move as a calling, though it might not have been a formal call.¹²⁸ According to family traditions, after Jacob started the journey, he offered to take Priscilla back to stay in Kanab. "Priscilla straightened up her shoulders, raised her chin, pulled her sunbonnet forward, and firmly replied, 'Drive on Jacob! We have a lot of ground to cover before evening.'" ¹²⁹ In January 1878 when they left, Priscilla was thirty-six and Jacob was fifty-eight. The difficult crossing of the Colorado and Arizona's deserts and mountains must have tested her resolve. As she descended the canyon toward Lee's Ferry and the surreal, blazingly hot country of the Navajos and Hopis that Jacob had come to know so intimately, Priscilla wrote that she felt she was "going into Dante's Inferno."¹³⁰

In the Little Colorado settlements in Round Valley, Apache County, the Hamblins faced their most difficult pioneering moments, living in Milligan's Fort near Eagar. "There were hard times beyond anything so far experienced," wrote Priscilla. "Bread was made from frost-bitten barley, when we had bread. Some days passed with only a crust of bread in the house. To see my children wanting and needing the bare necessities of life, and suffering from hunger

main unable to aid us in Maintaining our Poor families." Ammon Tenney, Letter to Pearl Udall Nelson, July 12, 1915, pp. 6–8, Ammon Tenney Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson. Tenney gave anecdotal evidence of the ingratitude of his fellow Saints in Kanab after he had undergone severe hardships while traveling to Fort Defiance with Jacob Hamblin in 1870 to protect his fellow Saints from Navajo raids. Another hint of this discontent is Hamblin's complaint that the two men hired to build an adobe house for Rachel at Mountain Meadows had failed. Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 134.

¹²⁷Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin*, 401; Lewis in Starr, *Jacob Vernon Hamblin*, 83.

¹²⁸Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 43.

¹²⁹Carnahan, *Sarah Priscilla Leavitt Hamblin*, 24. Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 43, quotes Priscilla telling a similar version: "'No, no!' I told him. 'I'm willing to follow you wherever you want me to go and be by your side. So just drive on!'"

¹³⁰Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 43.

and exposure, was the hardest trial for me.”¹³¹ Her oldest children living with her, thirteen-year-old Jake and eleven-year-old Ella Ann, hired out to Springerville founder William Milligan and “Mexican farmers,” helping the family survive. Outlaws were plentiful and dangerous. Hamblin’s large cattle herd, laboriously driven down to Springerville, was reportedly quickly rustled away, until only six milk cows remained.¹³² Priscilla continued her nursing and midwifery. When Wilford Woodruff visited the Arizona settlements in 1876, he set her apart as a midwife, blessing her that she would never lose a mother or child, if she were faithful. Family tradition records that this prophecy was fulfilled; she subsequently delivered more than a thousand babies safely.¹³³

Jacob now divided his time between Kanab, where Louisa and her children were still living, and Arizona, in addition to trips to St. George and the colonies in Mexico. Dudley Jabez Hamblin, Priscilla’s eighth child, was born May 5, 1880, in Springerville, Arizona—reportedly Apache County’s first white child. Her ninth and last child, Don Carlos Hamblin, was born on February 16, 1882, in Amity, near Springerville.

About 1883, Priscilla and her family moved to nearby Pleasanton, New Mexico. In 1884, Hamblin moved Louisa and her family to New Mexico. During this time, Geronimo’s deadly raids were greatly feared, and a number of nearby settlers were killed.¹³⁴ Hamblin may have been assigned to the settlement in an attempt to defuse tensions with the Indians. One of Louisa’s children later remembered this phase of their lives as the “poverty” era. On May 4, 1884, Amarilla Hamblin, the last of Louisa’s six children, and the last of Jacob Hamblin’s twenty-four biological children, was born in Pleasanton.

¹³¹Ibid. For the Mormon colonies on the Little Colorado, see Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission*.

¹³²John Ray Hamblin, *Outlaws of the Last Frontier* (Orem, Utah: Author, 2002), 1.

¹³³Louisa Lee Udall, “Jacob Hamblin: His Later Years, Death and Burial,” in *Heartthrobs of the West*, edited by Kate B. Carter, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1947), 11:253–61, 259; see also Jacob Hamblin, Jr., “Two of Jacob’s Wives,” 11:261.

¹³⁴Nina Kelly and Alice Lee, *Nutriso and Her Neighbors* (Flagstaff, Ariz.: Authors, 2000), 81.

In January 1885, Hamblin moved Louisa and her family to Ascension, Mexico. His reasons for this and her activities there are little known, but she returned to Pleasanton at the end of 1885. Meanwhile, in April 1885, Hamblin wrote, "I then started for utah [from Mexico] a journey of 700 miles. On my way I caled to see my Family [Priscilla's family]. One of the little ones asked if I had come home to stay now. I answered [no], [the] little [girl] weept and said w[hen] will you come to stay? I then went to St. George."¹³⁵ It was not easy for Jacob to constantly leave his families.

Hamblin was now being hounded by U.S. marshals, since he was a Mormon leader and a polygamist. His health declined; and as death approached in August 1886, his grandson Duane drove him from Alpine, Arizona, to Pleasanton. But when he came to Priscilla's home, she and her children were prostrated with fever, as malaria had infected everyone in town.

Priscilla asked, "Why are you here Duane?" Duane replied, "I have brought Grandpa home. He is out in the wagon." "Is he better, did the mountain air help him?" she asked. "No, Grandma, I think he is worse. He has had his eyes shut all afternoon. I think he was getting worse all the time." Duane continued, "Shall I bring him in, Grandma?"

Priscilla could not even rise from her bed, so she said, "No Duane, you will have to take him over to Aunt Louisa's house. She is not sick. She will have to take care of him."¹³⁶

Louisa gave him her best care, but Jacob died on August 31, 1886. In a much later account, Priscilla reportedly wrote: "My beloved Jacob slipped away to join the prophets in death."¹³⁷

WIDOWHOOD IN EASTERN ARIZONA

Priscilla and Louisa now had to provide for their many children by themselves on one of the most difficult frontiers in America. Two months after Hamblin's death, the two widows were turned off their land by unscrupulous speculators. But other Hamblins, Leavitts, and Bonellis had settled in Arizona; and Priscilla settled in Nutrioso, about

¹³⁵Jacob Hamblin, 1885 Diary, summer 1885, MSS 770, Perry Special Collections.

¹³⁶Udall, "Jacob Hamblin: His Later Years," 256.

¹³⁷Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 47.

fifteen miles south of Springerville, in spring 1887, where she and her son Jake managed to obtain eighty acres of land.¹³⁸ With cattle inherited from her father, she and her children ran a dairy. She continued to midwife, usually accepting payment in kind, not in money. "I received a lot of satisfaction in this field of work," wrote Priscilla.¹³⁹ When the Bonelli branch of the Hamblins moved to Springerville, Oscar, one of Louisa's boys, lived with her for a year and a half. "He said at [Priscilla's] funeral that she was always happy and sang hymns while she worked. She talked so much about the Prophet Joseph Smith, always bearing testimony that he was a true prophet, that he got the idea that the Prophet must be some relative of hers."¹⁴⁰

Round Valley continued to be infested by outlaws. As late as 1901, Priscilla's son-in-law, Edward Beeler, who was sheriff of Apache County, was gunned down by outlaws near his ranch in St. Johns.¹⁴¹ In approximately 1902, Priscilla sold her Nutrioso ranch and moved to Eagar, near Springerville.¹⁴² The final sentence in her reminiscences are: "My last years have been such happy ones. Though I am almost blind, my loving family sees that I am happy, with plenty of attention, as well as the necessities of life."¹⁴³ She died on July 23, 1927, in Alpine, Arizona, after thirty-eight years of widowhood.

After being turned off her land in Pleasanton, Louisa stayed with her brother Daniel for a time at Bonelli's Ferry on the Colorado River in western Arizona, and also lived with the Maxwell family in Pleasanton. Later Jacob's brother Frederick helped her move to Al-

¹³⁸In the 1900 census, Priscilla is in Nutrioso with two sons, nineteen-year-old Dudley and seventeen-year-old Don. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Nutrioso, Arizona, 28A. Living not far away are two children: Jacob Hamblin (Jr.), age thirty-five, with his wife, Sadie, and five children, and Ella Hamblin Tenney with her husband Warren.

¹³⁹Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 45.

¹⁴⁰Quoted in Hamblin, "Two of Jacob's Wives," 261.

¹⁴¹Hamblin, *Outlaws of the Last Frontier*, 60-61.

¹⁴²Carnahan, *Sarah Priscilla Leavitt Hamblin*, 28. In the 1910 U.S. census (Eagar, 106B), Priscilla was living in Eagar with her widowed daughter, Mary Beeler, age thirty-nine. Not far away were Jacob Hamblin (Jr.), wife Sadie, and eight children. The 1920 census for Eagar, (3A) reports Priscilla and Mary still living in Eagar.

¹⁴³Arrott, "Sarah Priscilla," 49.

pine, where she raised her six children.¹⁴⁴ It is not clear how she survived economically. Amarilla Hamblin Lee recorded:

Our home consisted of three log rooms (all in a row) on the one street of town. Times were hard and all the children were young. I remember after the boys were bigger and wanted more things, she said one day, "You boys seem to think I can get anything from a suit of clothes to a bouquet for your girl in the green chest." This chest was made by my brother Lyman and sits behind the kitchen table as a seat for the boys at mealtime. . . . She was just a plain, little mother, about 100 pounds.¹⁴⁵

Jake, one of Priscilla's sons, lived with Louisa for a year. He recalled that "bacon and Johnnie cake were about all we had to live on." Nevertheless, "everything shone with cleanliness." She taught him economy: "Should I think my socks were too old to mend and throw them away, she would send the girls to get them and I would find them all clean and mended in my box."¹⁴⁶

Louisa had a passion for her flower garden. Amarilla wrote, "I never see an old fashioned Hollyhock or Petunia that she does not come back to me. The Petunias she nursed in a box in the house, during the long cold winters they were covered and wrapped to keep from freezing."¹⁴⁷

Louisa is apparently the only Hamblin wife who left any holograph documents: eight letters written to her daughters between 1899 and 1929.¹⁴⁸ Her spellings are often phonetic (for instance, she often wrote "they" as "the"; another example is "stokins" for "stockings"). The letters are newsy, describing local events, marriages, weather. "We have had the coldest and windiest weather you

¹⁴⁴In the U.S. Census, 1900, Alpine, Arizona, 1, she was living with nineteen-year-old Willard and sixteen-year-old Amarilla.

¹⁴⁵Amarilla Hamblin Lee, "Life of Louisa Bonelli Hamblin," in Starr, *Jacob Hamblin*, 76-79.

¹⁴⁶Jake Hamblin, quoted in Clayton, *Pioneer Women*, 190.

¹⁴⁷Lee, "Life of Louisa Bonelli Hamblin," 77.

¹⁴⁸The originals are in private possession; photocopies in my possession. They are dated June 4, 1899; March 29 and December 14, 1923; November 14, December 2 and 14, 1924; and January 9, 1929. One letter is undated.

ever heard tell off this spring," she wrote in 1899.¹⁴⁹ An affectionate mother and grandmother, she wrote "Rilla," "I have a pair of pink stokins knit for your baby . . . I made one pair for Sids little girl and one pair for Elizas baby."¹⁵⁰ More than once she ended a letter ruefully, "I will think what I wanted to tell you when the letter is gone."¹⁵¹

In 1910, Louisa was living with her daughter Amarilla and son-in-law Franklin Lee in Nutrioso.¹⁵² In the 1920s, Louisa visited or lived in Kanab, where an old Paiute remembered her and embraced her.¹⁵³ She spent her last years with her daughter, Inez Lee, in Thatcher, Arizona.¹⁵⁴ "I never go nowhere only in my room, feed the chickens and water the Cows we have two," she wrote when she was eighty-five.¹⁵⁵ In an undated letter, she complained: "There is not any wood there, I hav a Stove in my room, so I have cept my feet warm for [the] last month, but I cant hardly get my wood." To add to the weakness and illness of old age, she progressively lost her hearing, which, judging by her letters, left her with a crippling sense of isolation during her last decade of life. In a January 1929 letter, she wrote, "I dont get up till a houer after the[y] have gone to School, than I go in and get my brea[k]fast, and all there things are all there, by the time I get that all done, and come in and cl[e]ane out my stove, and make my bed and do all there is to do than I am give out most of the time I go to bed and rest some time I sleep and some times not but I dont feel like much, so I set and read but my eyes are getting so bad, and my head is all out of cilter, and of cource I cant hear anything, so you cant think that I

¹⁴⁹Louisa Bonelli Hamblin, Letter to Sarah B. Hamblin, June 4, 1899.

¹⁵⁰Louisa Bonelli Hamblin, Letter to Amarilla Hamblin Lee, March 29, 1923.

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*

¹⁵²U.S. Census, 1910, Nutrioso, Arizona, 4A.

¹⁵³Amarilla Hamblin Lee, in Starr, *Jacob Vernon Hamblin*, 77. The 1920 Census for Kanab, p. 4A, records that Louisa was living at the home of her son Walter then.

¹⁵⁴Amarilla Hamblin Lee, in Starr, *Jacob Vernon Hamblin*, 77. The U.S. Census, 1930, Thatcher, Arizona, 3A, shows Louisa living with Inez and two of Inez's daughters.

¹⁵⁵Louisa Bonelli Hamblin, Letter to Amarilla Hamblin Lee, January 9, 1929.

know anything.”¹⁵⁶

Louisa died at Inez’s home on December 13, 1930, after forty-six years of widowhood.

CONCLUSION

It is hard not to be impressed by these women’s endurance in the face of constant discomfort, danger, and backbreaking toil. They survived debilitating illnesses, as well as the constant life-threatening sickness and accidents of their children. Both Rachel and Priscilla experienced the emotional toll of losing a child to death.¹⁵⁷ They traveled in uncomfortable wagons over jolting trails that were barely ruts on stone and confronted the ever-present dangers of the frontier, often without Jacob’s help. Nevertheless, they survived, fed and clothed their children, planted gardens, and contributed to the wider community through midwiving, nursing, and teaching. Priscilla captured her stoic philosophy (or her granddaughter captured it for her), saying: “Work was the thing that saved us all—the eternal, never-ending work.”¹⁵⁸ Grief, loss, depression, and personal weariness were luxuries—even self-indulgences—that simply could not be accommodated. If there was an agonizing loss, you immersed yourself in work. After each strenuous, emotionally wrenching move, you simply put down roots on the new frontier and started the gradual, daily “civilizing” process once again.

Historian Glenda Riley writes, “Because of this pervasive domestic orientation and associated ties to household and children, it was the women who stayed at home waiting, while the men of the family made and lost fortunes as Argonauts, scouted the West for better farm or business sites, worked on far-flung ranches or in lumber camps, or spent several months or years establishing new homes for their families. Women also stayed at home while their fathers, brothers, and husbands participated in the many scientific or military expeditions that pushed into virtually every frontier area at one

¹⁵⁶Ibid.

¹⁵⁷Arrott, “Sarah Priscilla,” 36.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

time or another.”¹⁵⁹ Rachel, Priscilla, and Louisa pursued their domestic “gospel of work” while their husband scouted trails across the Colorado to the Hopi mesas, opened up the way for the Mormon Little Colorado settlements, and mediated conflicts with the Indians of the Southwest.

As a case history in polygamy, the Hamblin households are not an ideal test group, since Hamblin’s absences were extraordinarily frequent, even for a plural husband. As a result, the bonding between sister wives in the case of Rachel and Priscilla seems to have been very intense, a pattern which characterized many plural marriages.¹⁶⁰ But according to John D. Lee’s testimony, at least one of Jacob’s wives, probably Louisa, seriously considered leaving him, another pattern characteristic of polygamy.¹⁶¹ In this case, her distress may have been caused by Hamblin’s repeated and lengthy absences as an explorer, peacemaker, and missionary, rather than by polygamy per se.

As these women’s lives show, the nineteenth-century Mormon experience was, until the late 1840s and early 1850s, marked by rootlessness, migration, and the rigors of frontier survival. (Even Missouri and Nauvoo can be regarded in some respects as frontier experiences.) By the 1850s, however, the Mormon experience bifurcated. Many Latter-day Saints had built stable lives in urban centers in northern Utah. But for many others, rootlessness, migration (now seen as mission calls to colonize), and frontier survival continued throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁶² Jacob Hamblin and his families are extreme examples of this phenomenon. But in other

¹⁵⁹Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 200.

¹⁶⁰Janet Bennion, *Women of Principle: Female Networking in Contemporary Mormon Polygyny* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Altman and Ginat, *Polygamous Families in Contemporary Society*, 366–86. See also such standard volumes on nineteenth-century polygamy as Kimball Young, *Isn’t One Wife Enough?* (New York: Holt, 1954); Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); Richard Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986).

¹⁶¹See Eugene E. Campbell and Bruce L. Campbell, “Divorce among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanations,” in *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past*, edited by D. Michael Quinn (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 181–200.

¹⁶²See Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission*; Eugene E. Campbell, *Establish-*

ways, these women are representative of the many Mormons who, after the trek across the plains, settled in central or southern Utah, then in increasingly outlying areas of Utah, then in Arizona, Idaho, Colorado, Mexico, or Canada.

APPENDIX

Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, holograph notes on his personal copy of James A. Little, ed., *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience, as a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians and Explorer, Disclosing Interpositions of Providence, Severe Privations, Perilous Situations and Remarkable Escapes*, 2d. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), now in Dellenbaugh Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.

Holograph paragraph opposite title page: Jacob Hamblin, I knew very well. He was an extraordinary character and had a great influence over the Indians. He was always fair with them and his slow, quiet way of talking suited their ideas. He never exhibited any fear or excitement, whatever might have been his inner feelings. I never saw anyone so quiet, calm and self-contained as "Old Jacob" as everyone in Kanab called him.

He was "sealed" to two Pai Ute women when I knew him and he had at least two white wives, one of whom "Sister Louisa," I knew fairly well.

On account of a wound on my leg I had to remain for three weeks in Kanab when the rest of our party had gone for work in the field, and I took my meals at "Sister Louisa's." I found her a very nice, sensible woman—English [sic]. She had come across the Plains with the hand-cart party. Why she ever married "Old Jacob" was a mystery for she was not old and was rather attractive in her personal appearance. She told me much about her hand-cart trip but I neglected to put it on paper at the time.

ing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869 (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988); Judson Harold Flower, *Mormon Colonization of the San Luis Valley, Colorado, 1878–1900* (Mesa, Ariz.: H. H. Haynie, 1981); Dan Erickson, "Star Valley, Wyoming: Polygamous Haven," *Journal of Mormon History* 26 no. 1 (Spring 2000): 123–64; Brigham Y. Card, Herbert C. Northcott, John E. Foster, Howard Palmer, and George K. Jarvis, eds., *The Mormon Presence in Canada* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990); Edward Leo Lyman, *San Bernardino: The Rise and Fall of a California Community* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996); F. LaMond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987).

Jacob had a couple of sons in Kanab then—one of them “Joe” was an expert on horseback and with the lasso and was with our land parties constantly. —F.S.D.

DR. GEORGE B. SANDERSON: NEMESIS OF THE MORMON BATTALION

Sherman L. Fleek

AMONG THE HEROES AND VILLAINS who emerged from the Mormon Battalion, its military surgeon, Dr. George B. Sanderson, unquestionably has come down in history as both incompetent and malicious, actively conspiring against the health of the Mormon men in his charge. “The Doctor was known to be a Missouri mobber,” recorded Henry Bigler, a member of C Company “and had been heard to say he did not care a damn whether he killed or cured.”¹ Sergeant William Hyde put it poetically:

Our Doc, the wicked swearing fellow,
with Calomel thought to make us mellow.²

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¹(No editor), “Extracts from the Journal of Henry W. Bigler,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1932): 38.

²William Hyde, Journal, 24, L. Tom Perry Special Collections and Manuscripts Division, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections).

Levi Hancock of E Company wrote in his diary: "Come on the doctor, Mr. George Sanderson, and surely Death and Hell followed after this man."³ David Pettegrew, one of older battalion volunteers, wrote, "Great tyranny was acted by Doctor Sanderson compelling the men to take calomel. . . . Oh Lord! deliver us from the hands of Doctor Sanderson."⁴

Dubbed "Dr. Death" in the annals of the battalion's history and folklore,⁵ Sanderson served as the battalion's volunteer assistant surgeon from August 1, 1846, to May 13, 1847, but garnered few Mormon friends. Even today, Mormon histories describe Sanderson as a mean, low, vulgar, vicious frontier quack, a despised person, a man without any virtuous traits, and a true "Philistine" among the Lord's faithful.⁶ Robert O'Day, author of a recent history, wrote: "The men justifiably came to refer to Sanderson as a mineral quack and Doctor Death."⁷ According to another recent historian, Dan Talbot, "Sanderson was universally loathed for his brutality and feared for his violent treatments."⁸ Bigler's biographer called him "the hateful doctor."⁹

For more than 150 years, little was known about Sanderson except for the negative portrait left by battalion members. But the time now seems ripe for a reappraisal. One source of new information is Sanderson's journal, acquired by the University of Utah in 2003. Another is a better understanding of contemporary military medical

³Levi Hancock, Mormon Battalion Journal, August 29, 1846, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

⁴David Pettegrew, Journal, August 31, 1846, typeset, 71, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

⁵John W. Yurtinus, "A Ram in the Thicket: The Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1975), 116, stated that the men of the battalion commonly called Sanderson "Doctor Death."

⁶Sherman L. Fleek, *"History May Be Searched in Vain": A Military History of Mormon Battalion* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 2006), 190.

⁷Robert O. Day, *The Mormon Battalion: The Lord's Faithful* (Oviedo, Fla.: Day to Day, 1997), 68.

⁸Dan Talbot, *A Historical Guide to the Mormon Battalion and Butterfield Trail* (Tucson, Ariz.: Westernlore Press, 1992), 25.

⁹Guy M. Bishop, *Henry William Bigler: Soldier, Gold Miner, Missionary, Chronicler, 1815–1890* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998), 34.

treatment and protocol that prompt a reanalysis. This article argues that Sanderson, despite a bedside manner that can be characterized as, at best, abrupt, was well educated, articulate, and professionally competent. His training was standard for the time, and he took seriously his charge as a military surgeon to keep his soldiers as healthy as possible.

This article will first summarize the Mormon Battalion's history and Sanderson's biography, as far as it is known. Then I will describe military medical practices of the Mexican War era, Sanderson's qualifications to serve as a military surgeon, and, in that context, his methods and the men's reactions. Finally, I will quote relevant passages from Sanderson's journal, comparing his observations, where possible, to the men's reaction to the same events.

THE SERVICE OF THE MORMON BATTALION

The Mormon Battalion, consisting of more 500 Mormon men, served during the Mexican War from July 1846 to July 1847, the only religious unit to see federal service in U.S. history.¹⁰ During that year, it made one of the most arduous military marches ever, in its trek from Council Bluffs, Iowa, to San Diego, California.¹¹

The battalion's service is unique because of its unusual compo-

¹⁰Fleek, "History May be Searched in Vain," 134–35.

¹¹Day, *The Mormon Battalion*, x, claims, "Their march to California still holds the record as the longest march ever made by U. S. infantry." Talbot, *A Historical Guide to the Mormon Battalion Trail*, 2, called it "the longest military march in history." Truman Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 305, states that the battalion made the "longest sustained infantry march in history (two thousand miles) from Iowa to San Diego." William E. Barrett, *The Restored Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1973), 239, wrote, "The march of the Mormon Battalion is often called the greatest march of infantry in the history of the world." These claims are incorrect. First, the actual distance traveled is a point of controversy, ranging from 1,900 miles to 2,200 miles or more. I accept the estimate of about 1,900 miles made by Stanley B. Kimball, *Historic Sites and Markers along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 181. Second, history records longer military marches. Alexander the Great led his army 22,000 miles through Asia and Africa to the gates of India. Helen and Frank Schrieder, "In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great," *National Geographic*, January 1968, 1–65. Some units

sition, recruitment, unit designation, and religious nature. The men joined the battalion more from sacred devotion than patriotic fervor; the very designation, "Mormon Battalion" reflects its religious status. This service provided the Mormon cause with desperately needed cash and other benefits that assisted the exodus west. It did not engage in combat, and the battalion was accompanied for part of the journey by several families and for the full route by four women and several children after the other civilians were diverted to winter in Pueblo, Colorado, with sick soldiers.

Directives from Church leaders to the Mormon soldiers caused a rift and an often-studied conflict between official military and priesthood authority.¹² The difficulty of enlisting men from one church, especially given the homogeneity by being prophet-led and stringently disciplined, created an atmosphere in which a power struggle over authority was almost inevitable. Into this tense and volatile situation came Dr. George B. Sanderson, a "wicked and swearing fellow," according to Sergeant William Hyde.¹³

DR. GEORGE SANDERSON'S BIOGRAPHY

The biographical facts about Sanderson are skimpy. The known detail about his early years is that he was born in Great Britain in 1800. The year of his immigration is not known. I have found no record of his education and medical training. He resided in Platte County, Missouri, not far from Fort Leavenworth across the Missouri River in present-day Kansas. He married Ellen Johnson on November 25,

of Napoleon Bonaparte's army, during its 1812 invasion of Russia, left from bases in Spain, a distance of 2,000 miles one way to Moscow. Alan Schom, *Napoleon Bonaparte* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), 594. In 1934–35 Chinese Communists completed "the Long March" of some 6,000 miles. Even in U.S. military history, the Mormon Battalion's march was not the longest. In 1858 eight companies of the Sixth U.S. Infantry took the Oregon Trail from Fort Leavenworth to the Pacific Coast, more than 2,200 miles. Clifford L. Swanson, *The Sixth United States Infantry Regiment, 1855 to Reconstruction* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Company, 2001), 23.

¹²Susan Easton Black, "The Mormon Battalion: Conflict between Religious and Military Authority," *Southern California Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (Winter 1992): 313–28; and Eugene E. Campbell, "Authority Conflicts in the Mormon Battalion," *BYU Studies* 8, no. 2 (Winter 1968): 27–142.

¹³Hyde, Journal, 24.

1844, and owned a large farm named Hazlewood and as many as fifteen slaves.¹⁴ William Hyde mentions a “negro boy” with Sanderson, perhaps a slave he brought along.¹⁵

His history after his battalion days is a little more revealing. Sanderson left the battalion and California in May 1847 in a party that included Brigadier General Stephen W. Kearny, Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke (the battalion’s former commander), several staff officers of Kearny’s command and the legendary “Pathfinder,” Lieutenant John C. Frémont. This group reached Fort Leavenworth in future Kansas on August 22, 1847.¹⁶ By 1860 Sanderson was living in St. Louis and had become an investment banker or financier for government bonds. He is listed in the 1857 *St. Louis Directory* as president of M&M Savings Bank and resided in a respectable part of St. Louis. The 1860 federal census for St. Louis listed Sanderson as age sixty and a “Private banker” holding assets of \$40,000 in real estate and additional \$10,000 in personal property. The census also listed his wife, Ellen Johnson Sanderson, step-daughter Emmie Johnson, daughter Emma, and two female Irish servants.¹⁷ Apparently by this time, he no longer owned the slaves as recorded in the Platte County records. Whether he continued to practice medicine is unknown, but most likely not.¹⁸

He died in the spring of 1861, an early victim of the crisis that erupted into the Civil War in April at Fort Sumpter. On May 10, Union forces scattered and overran a pro-slavery militia camp west of town. After midnight, a local pro-Union attorney, Aylett Buckner, en-

¹⁴For county tax and other vital records in which Sanderson appears, see W. M. Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri* (Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing, 1897), 62, 65, 124.

¹⁵Hyde, Journal, September 1, 1846, 24.

¹⁶Captain Henry S. Turner, “Journal of Brig. Genl. S. W. Kearny’s Return from California in the Summer of 1847,” Kearny Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

¹⁷Summary of directory and census information courtesy of David E. Miller.

¹⁸My search included documents at the Missouri State Historical Society, St. Louis (Sanderson appears only in census records) and Platte County Historical Society, Platte, Missouri. Historian Will Bagley recorded nearly the same scanty information in *Army of Israel: The Mormon Battalion Narratives* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark, 2000), 93 note 54.

tered a saloon in St. Louis and engaged Sanderson, a pro-slavery sympathizer, in a heated conversation about the incident. Tempers escalated, and Sanderson struck Buckner with his cane. With a pocketknife, Buckner stabbed Sanderson in self-defense, slicing his liver. Sanderson died three weeks later on May 31.¹⁹

SANDERSON'S APPOINTMENT AS ASSISTANT SURGEON

Lieutenant Colonel James Allen, the Mormon Battalion's first commander and a man for whom the Mormon volunteers had a high regard, appointed Sanderson as assistant surgeon. He may, in fact, have requested that Sanderson apply for this appointment, for he had a high regard for Sanderson. In a letter, Allen explained that Sanderson "is known to me as a gentleman of the first respectability and of accomplished skill and attainments in his profession."²⁰ Dr. William McIntire, a Mormon, a physician, and a graduate from Columbia College, also served with the battalion but as a contract physician. The army often contracted with civilian surgeons on the frontier and during war because of the scarcity of commissioned medical officers. Sanderson was not affiliated with the U.S. Army before the battalion was organized, but he was a commissioned volunteer medical officer, not a contract surgeon.²¹

Allen seemed to have a lesser opinion of McIntire's qualifications though he was "a regular graduate of a Medical School." Allen

¹⁹*St. Louis Republican*, June 2, 1861, 2, courtesy of David E. Miller, Cameron University. Pro-slavery sympathizers tried to appropriate weapons from a U.S. Army depot in Alton, Illinois, but retreated when the soldiers faced them down. Several days later, the soldiers broke up the pro-slavery camp. As they marched back into St. Louis, a mob attacked the troops. Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854–1865* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955), 129–38; see also Michael Fellman, *Inside War: The Guerilla Conflict in Missouri during the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

²⁰Lieutenant Colonel James Allen, Letter to Brevet Brigadier General Roger Jones, Adjutant General, August 1, 1846, microfilm A-139, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

²¹Hamilton Gardner, a former military officer and historian, in "The Command and Staff of the Mormon Battalion," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1952): 349, mistakenly concluded that Sanderson was a contract surgeon.

gave no reason for his evaluation that he did “not deem him [McIntire] qualified to perform all the duties of his profession that are now and will be required in the Battalion.”²² Sanderson’s appointment order was “subject to the [U. S.] president’s approval,” meaning that Sanderson was a commissioned volunteer medical officer, probably with the rank of lieutenant.²³ Historian Francis B. Heitman in his *Historical Register and Dictionary of United States Army Officers* listed Sanderson as “an assistant surgeon of volunteers” but does not mention McIntire.²⁴

Sanderson overtook the battalion on August 29, 1846, after it had already begun a very slow advance westward on the Santa Fe Trail. Accompanying Sanderson was First Lieutenant Andrew Jackson Smith. Hardened by eight years of frontier service with the First Dragoons on the frontier, Smith served superbly as a Union general during the Civil War, fighting in many of the important campaigns and battles in the western theater.²⁵ But like Sanderson, Smith generated fear and hatred in the Mormons. Mormon stalwart John D. Lee called both Sanderson and Lieutenant Smith “Oppressors” and “Tyrants,” a label that continues in battalion legend.²⁶

When Smith and Sanderson arrived, the first crisis was already upon the battalion. Allen had died on August 23, 1846, at Fort Leavenworth. Smith offered his services as acting commander until another officer was appointed by proper authority. According to Sanderson’s journal of August 29, 1846, “At Council Grove [Kansas] arrived there about one oclock found them apparently glad to see me. Myself and Lieutenant Smith held a council.” Continuing, “Some of the [Mormon] officers appeared willing” to accept Smith while “others op-

²²Ibid.

²³Dr. George B. Sanderson’s commission as assistant surgeon is on the same reel, A-139, Utah State Historical Society.

²⁴Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of United States Army Officers from Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 1:858.

²⁵Patricia L. Faust, ed., *Historical Times Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 694.

²⁶Juanita Brooks, ed., “Diary of the Mormon Battalion Mission: John D. Lee,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 42, nos. 2-3 (July and October 1967): 191.

posed" the plan.²⁷ Lieutenant George Dykes serving as battalion adjutant argued that if the senior Mormon company commander, Captain Jefferson Hunt, assumed command, he would be unable to requisition provisions and supplies from the army logistics system. Dykes wrote to Brigham Young later, "further not a man had yet Received his commission & if the comisary of Subsistance had Refused us provisions we had not authority to take it & you well know that there has been tricks played off before at the mormon's expenses 2d In the Army all Receipts, Requisitions . . . must be made out in due form of Law or they do not pass & our senior Capt did not know how to teach all these things & therefore I gave my voise in favor of a graduate from west point."²⁸ Apparently, Smith's status in holding a regular army commission, his ability to requisition provisions, and his frontier experience won the day, and he assumed acting command of the battalion, while Sanderson began his duties as chief medical officer.²⁹

Interestingly, both Smith and Sanderson had solicited Brigham Young's approval in separate letters, clear recognition of the battalion's distinctive nature. Sanderson wrote: "Everything that I have in my power shall be extended to them [the soldiers] for their comfort."³⁰ It seems likely that Sanderson and Smith were following Allen's lead in

²⁷George B. Sanderson, Journal, August 29, 1846, 3, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City (hereafter Marriott Library).

²⁸George P. Dykes, Santa Fe, Letter to Brigham Young, October 13, 1846, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

²⁹A. J. Smith was born in 1815 and raised in Pennsylvania. His father, Samuel Smith, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, named him in honor of Andrew Jackson, the hero of the Battle of New Orleans. A. J. Smith graduated in 1838 from West Point, then joined Stephen W. Kearny on the frontier, serving in many antebellum campaigns or expeditions. He served with distinction for the North during the Civil War in the western theater under Generals U.S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman. After the Civil War, Smith assumed command of the newly organized Seventh U. S. Cavalry with young George Armstrong Custer as his lieutenant colonel. Smith retired as a colonel of cavalry in 1869 and became head postmaster in St. Louis.

³⁰Quoted in Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War 1846-1848* (1881; rpt., Glorieta, N.M.: Rio Grande Press, 1980), 153. According to Tyler, Sanderson dated his letter August 22, the

acknowledging Young's leadership. Young responded to Sanderson's letter but without referring directly to Sanderson's appointment. After expressing sadness at Allen's death, Brigham young wrote, "we doubt not your services to the Battalion will be duly appreciated."³¹

ARMY MEDICAL PRACTICES

Sanderson's medical care is a staple of Mormon Battalion histories, particularly its negative effects on the men's health and morale.³² While the soldiers' attitude was indubitably negative, perhaps a more fruitful approach is to consider standard medical practices of the times, how closely Sanderson's efforts matched this standard, and the military structure that obligated the commander to enforce them.

Sickness and disease have been a major concern in all military operations from ancient times to the present. Until World War II, there were always more fatalities from disease and natural causes than from actual combat. In the Mexican War, 1,192 were killed in battle with another 529 dying from wounds, for a total of 1,721 dead by enemy action. Yet some 11,155 men died from disease, accidents, or other natural causes.³³ Thus, nearly eight times as many soldiers died from disease as from combat. Polluted water and poor waste disposal practices caused tremendous sanitary problems that took their toll in diarrhea, typhoid, cholera, and dysentery.

Medical care, as provided on the frontier and during the Mexican War, was inadequate at best and would be considered almost primitive by today's standards. Amputation was the standard procedure for dealing with serious fractures and infections to the limbs. Historian James McCaffrey wrote, "The high incidence of death by disease during the Mexican War is easily attributable to the state of medical knowledge at the time. The medical profession in general did not yet understand disease transmission, or the need for sanitation in dealing with the sick or wounded." Medicines and treatments were a combination of proven

day before Allen's death.

³¹Quoted in *ibid.*, 154.

³²Tyler, *A Concise History*, 147, titled a subsection of his book as "A Fiendish Doctor" and called Sanderson in this section, "the mineral quack," complaining that the men had to endure "his wicked cursing." Tyler also termed Smith and Sanderson's service "tyranny and abuse."

³³Jack K. Bauer, *The Mexican War: 1846-1848* (1974; rpt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press/Bison Book, 1992), 397.

methods and reliance upon folklore and country remedies. Physicians during this era, particularly in Mexico, often faced diseases they knew nothing about, of which they could not determine the causes, and for which they had no adequate treatment.³⁴

One of the most common diseases that Mexican War era troops contracted was malaria. Yet physicians diagnosed it often as cholera, swamp fever, or marsh fever. They determined that any treatment that lessened the symptoms must be contributing to the cause of the disease, a standard medical theory of the time. The favorite and most common treatment for these fevers, which was most likely malaria, was bloodletting.³⁵ Often a treatment for one problem created a new problem. Since doctors did not understand the spread of disease or infection, a simple amputation often caused death by tetanus and other infections.³⁶

Though medical treatment was primitive by modern standards, the regular army established surprisingly high standards for its medical corps, demanding qualifications that normally surpassed those for civilians. Becoming a commissioned medical officer required passing an examination so thorough and demanding that fewer than half of the applicants passed it the first time.³⁷ No matter what the army needs were, these standards were seldom waived. Medical historian Mary C. Gillet wrote, "A civilian physician, writing in 1848, pointed out that the Medical Department's entrance examination had always been strict and that incompetents had never known to pass them. The department's system, an army official stated, 'has saved thousands of brave men from the knives and nostrums of professional bunglers.'"³⁸

Medical schools in the mid-nineteenth century usually required students to attend lectures during two terms of instruction, each lasting about three to four months. The students also served apprenticeships with a practicing physician that lasted from a few months to a year or

³⁴James M. McCaffery, *Army of Manifest Destiny: The American Soldier in the Mexican War: 1846–1848* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 53–54.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 58–59.

³⁶Mary C. Gillet, *Army Historical Series: The Army Medical Department: 1818–1865* (Washington D.C.: United States Army Center of Military History, 1987), 101.

³⁷McCaffery, *Army of Manifest Destiny*, 56.

³⁸Gillet, *The Army Medical Department*, 79.

more. However, the vast majority of American doctors of this period received medical training by apprenticeship and only a few schools had standard curriculum, examination, and formal certification. Usually the practicing doctor attested in a letter that the student was a qualified surgeon. Even the courses or subjects that the teaching physician provided were random and varied greatly between doctors.³⁹

If a doctor could pass the U.S. Medical Corps examination and serve in the regular army or volunteer service for a period of time, then he had a good credential for a successful private practice.⁴⁰ Age requirements dropped from twenty-eight to twenty-one during the Mexican War, but the same rigid examination was required and the pass-fail rate remained nearly the same as in peace time.⁴¹

The fact that George Sanderson received a commission in the volunteer service is proof that he had passed this examination. Historian James McCaffrey wrote:

The Army Board of Medical Examiners compiled a list of doctors whom they invited to take the examination. In July 1846, this board met in New York City. Only forty-three of the sixty-three invited applicants arrived to take the exam, and fifteen of them decided not take it after all. The board found three others physically unfit, and administered the exam to the remaining twenty-five doctors. Seventeen of them failed! The results of another examination, in the spring of 1847, were similarly discouraging. This time the board invited 103 physicians. Again, only half of them responded. Of the forty-five doctors who took this test, only eleven passed.⁴²

Those who failed the examinations were deficient in human anatomy, most likely because many had never dissected a human cadaver. The boards also found that, "though they were highly recommended graduates of medical schools, [they] lacked any experience in even minor surgery, and in some cases they had not even had instruction in the subject." One applicant could not give the temperatures at which water froze or boiled.⁴³

It is not likely that Sanderson made the long and expensive trip

³⁹McCaffery, *Army of Manifest Destiny*, 54.

⁴⁰Gillet, *The Army Medical Department*, 78.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 96.

⁴²McCaffery, *Army of Manifest Destiny*, 55–56.

⁴³*Ibid.*

from Missouri to New York City to take such an examination. Most of these examinations were to fill regular army positions, not volunteer units. However, the army conducted examination boards at local posts using the same standards as the general board.⁴⁴

In short, Sanderson's practices and treatments were, by the standards of the time, acceptable. That Sanderson's medical care left much to be desired in the eyes of the Mormon Battalion soldiers is not so much a reflection on Sanderson as on American medical knowledge. Still considered a leading medical authority during this era was Dr. Benjamin Rush (1745–1813), a friend and colleague of Thomas Jefferson, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. In 1794, he first published one of the earliest, and most influential, volumes on medical practice. Among the treatments he advocated were calomel, quinine, other sulfur-based drugs, and bloodletting (venesection).⁴⁵ Physicians who employed these methods were called depletists, since these medicines acted as powerful purgatives, while bleeding lowered the patient's blood volume, sometimes by a pint at a time, with the treatment being repeated sometimes daily. Medical historian Thomas Hall commented, "Many of the sick at western military posts and on such western trails as the Santa Fe were treated according to Rush's teachings in this book."⁴⁶

By the 1840s, however, a slow reaction had set in against these rather archaic treatments. No new practices had as yet replaced these old treatments, but a general consensus developed of dispensing with blood-letting and omitting treatment with some drugs. In fact, Dr. John Esten Cooke, brother of Captain Philip St. George Cooke, future commander of the Mormon Battalion, was relieved of his teaching duties at the University of Louisville Medical School in 1844, for advocating 240 grains of calomel in a daily dosage.⁴⁷

McCaffrey commented that medical officers serving under General Zachary Taylor in Monterrey, Mexico, "substituted sulfate of zinc and myrrh" in lieu of quinine for malaria, though sometimes ac-

⁴⁴Gillet, *The Army Medical Department*, 96.

⁴⁵Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Bilious Remitting Yellow Fever, As It Appeared in the City of Philadelphia, in the Year 1793* (N.p., 1794).

⁴⁶Thomas B. Hall, M.D., *Medicine on the Santa Fe Trail* (Arrow Rock, Mo.: Arrow Rock, 1987), 5–6.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 8. For the Cooke family, see Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision: 1846* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), 238.

company by opium. When sulfate of zinc ran short, Dr. John B. Porter reluctantly treated his patients with arsenic.⁴⁸ McCaffrey continued that “Dr. Nathaniel Chapman (1780–1853), a prominent civilian doctor and the first president of the American Medical Association, favored bleeding the patient every two or three days.” He also noted that, in cases of digestive or bowel complaints, “Chapman regarded calomel . . . as indispensable.”⁴⁹

Sanderson’s methods, since proven harmful and misguided, were neither irresponsible nor those of a quack in the context of the times. Historian Bernard DeVoto, who described the Mormon Battalion march, commented wryly: “Sanderson appears to have been a good doctor as doctors went in that, the darkest age of American medicine, and Edwin Bryant, whose judgment was excellent, spoke of his [Sanderson’s] scientific attainments with great respect. But he had no faculty of command or persuasion.”⁵⁰

Furthermore, Sanderson’s manner alienated the Mormon men, casting further suspicion on his traditional treatments. When some men were too ill to attend sick call, Sanderson impatiently ordered Sergeant William Coray: “By God, you bring them here, I know my duty.”⁵¹ His “duty” did not seem to require him to go to the patient if the patient were too ill to come to him.

SANDERSON’S SERVICE WITH THE MORMON BATTALION

Almost certainly, Sanderson had no respect for the Mormon reliance on faith and priesthood blessings to heal the sick. In fact, we have no way of knowing what he knew about Mormon healing practices and beliefs. Brigham Young had admonished the LDS soldiers to use herbal rather than mineral medicines. “If you are sick, live by faith, and let the surgeon’s medicine alone if you want to live, using only such herbs and mild food as are at your disposal,” Young declared August 19, 1846, in a letter to the officers and men of the Mormon Battalion. “If you give heed to this counsel, you will

⁴⁸McCaffrey, *Army of Manifest Destiny*, 60.

⁴⁹Ibid., 61.

⁵⁰DeVoto, *Year of Decision*, 316. Edwin Bryant, a well-educated man, was a prominent journalist and essayist of the mid-nineteenth century. He wrote an account of his adventures traveling to California, published as *What I Saw in California* (N.p., 1848).

⁵¹William Coray, Journal, September 9, 1846, LDS Church Archives.

prosper; but if not, we cannot be responsible for the consequences.”⁵² There is no evidence whether Sanderson knew of this counsel or not.

Obviously, Sanderson failed to gain the men’s confidence as a healer. Certainly his own arrogance and brusqueness are largely responsible, but I hypothesize that Brigham Young’s strong denunciation of standard medical practices greatly contributed to the men’s resistance. Sanderson made matters worse by not taking a gentler approach or by explaining his methods in greater detail. Rather, he forcefully insisted on administering the “surgeon’s medicine” that Brigham Young expressly counseled against.

On September 3, according to Sergeant William Hyde, “Lieutenant Smith discovered some two or three sick in a wagon, who had not reported themselves to the surgeon, and he hauled them out abruptly.” Later that evening Smith ordered the sergeants to stop shielding the men. Furthermore, all of the sick must report to Sanderson. The men could not seek treatment from McIntire or use family or folk remedies without first consulting Sanderson.⁵³ Private Zadock Judd of E Company, in his autobiography written sixty years later, drew pleasure from the men’s resourcefulness in avoiding treatment: “After a light examination the doctor would give each one a nice little paper containing a dose of calomel. All were treated alike. They were told to take it with water before eating breakfast,” but many would simply discard the contents. When “the doctor found out the men did not take calomel . . . they had to take it in his presence.”⁵⁴ According to Coray, Sanderson cursed and castigated his patients: “When we went to the Doctor, with the sick, he abused & cursed them, in fact he never failed to insult them, when they went to him, & the very name of Dr. had become a dread to them.” He forced the calomel down the

⁵²Brigham Young, quoted in Tyler, *A Concise History*, 146–47. See also Linda P. Wilcox, “The Imperfect Science: Brigham Young on Medical Doctors,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Fall 1979): 26–36; Robert T. Divett, “Medicine and the Mormons: A Historical Perspective,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Fall 1979): 6–25.

⁵³Hyde, Journal, September 3, 1846; Coray, Journal, September 4, 1846.

⁵⁴Zadock Judd, Autobiography, Special Collections, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University, Logan, not paginated, photocopy of typescript in my possession.

men's throats himself using an "old rusty spoon."⁵⁵

Over the next several days, Sergeant Nathan V. Jones of D Company tried to explain to Smith that the men wanted to be loyal but had religious objections to taking the medicine. Smith queried the adjutant, Lieutenant George Dykes, a Mormon, on this point. Dykes answered "that there is no such religious scruples and that the Church authorities themselves took such medicines."⁵⁶

According to Corporal (later sergeant) Daniel Tyler, Sanderson usually prescribed a mixture of calomel and arsenic for a range of digestive upsets, on the theory that constipation was a leading cause of abdominal or stomach disorders.⁵⁷ This mixture also caused vomiting and dehydration.

On September 16, Private Alva Phelps of E Company died of some type of congestive ailment. For days Phelps had refused to take Sanderson's concoction; and when he finally did, he succumbed only a few hours later. Tyler wrote, "Many boldly expressed the opinion that it was a case of premeditated murder."⁵⁸ Others proclaimed that it was the calomel that killed Phelps, whether it was premeditated murder or not. Private Henry Standage recorded, "Br. Alva Phelps died this evening. I believe that Calomel killed him."⁵⁹ Private Henry Bigler wrote, "We had the painful duty of burying Brother Alva Phelps of Company E, and it was believed that Doctor Sanderson's medicine killed him."⁶⁰ Levi Hancock would later write that "if we obeyed Council not one man would die. But, Satan strove against the principle. There appeared to be exertion used in favor of the Devil's ruling altogether."⁶¹

Tyler's strong charge of murder is almost certainly exaggerated. Even if Sanderson had been grossly incompetent and actively malicious, Smith would have relieved him of his duties if he had reason to

⁵⁵Coray, Journal, September 19; see also Tyler, *A Concise History*, 146–47.

⁵⁶Dykes, quoted in Tyler, *A Concise History*, 145.

⁵⁷McCaffrey, *Army of Manifest Destiny*, 64.

⁵⁸Ibid., 158.

⁵⁹Frank A. Golder, *The March of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs to California: Taken from the Journal of Henry Standage* (New York: Century Company, 1928), 165.

⁶⁰"Extracts from the Journal of Henry W. Bigler," 39.

⁶¹Hancock, Journal, September 16, 1846.

suspect that his surgeon was incapacitating and killing his men. Rather, as I read the battalion records, the Mormons condemned Sanderson as an oppressor and Smith as a tyrant, when, in fact, both were typical of the frontier military.⁶²

No doubt Smith had been exposed in his previous assignments to malingerers, slackers, and misfits, who saw the sick list as a means of shirking duty. An experienced and hardened frontier officer, he knew the importance of discipline, accountability, and duty. In addition to his powerful motivation to maintain the chain of command, Smith would have introduced chaos into his battalion by making even a few personal exceptions that overrode Sanderson's professional judgment. If the men refused proper and authorized medical care, then they must suffer the consequences and still perform their duties.⁶³

For example, on September 23, Smith instructed all of the company officers and noncommissioned officers to have all the sick men report to Sanderson (a repeat of his instructions on September 3) or they would not be allowed to ride in the wagons.⁶⁴ They were also to account for their men correctly and truthfully on the company morning reports or daily roll calls. Smith asserted his determination that the battalion would follow established procedure.⁶⁵ By making them report to sick call, he was assuring that they received medical attention whether they wanted it or not. In military terms, the Mormon soldiers had no choice; but in religious terms, they were faced with a dilemma.

Still, some of the sergeants tried to ignore these orders and protect their brethren from the surgeon. Though Lieutenant Smith had given his "no sick call, no wagons" order and the Mormon soldiers reported to sick call, they still mistrusted Sanderson and many believed they were violating religious counsel in doing so. Sanderson observed about a week later: "Considerable Sickness but not of a serious character. Lt Smith who commands the Battalion has his patience a good deal

⁶²Brooks, "Diary of the Mormon Battalion Mission: John D. Lee," 165–209, 281–332, 192.

⁶³Smith's support of Sanderson, an absolute requirement in maintaining the chain of command, has led some Mormon historians to conclude that Smith was incompetent or even evil. See Fleek, "*History May be Searched in Vain*," 190–91, where I review some of these accusations.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 284; Hyde, Journal, September 3, 1846.

⁶⁵Hyde, Journal, September 3, 1846.

tried by the Mormons [who are] so very careless about everything.”⁶⁶

William Hyde poked fun at the doctor in a little ditty about him, a couplet of which I have already quoted:

Our Doc, the wicked swearing fellow
 With Calomel thought to make us mellow
 The boys his poison spurned to take
 Which made him act his father, snake!
 He swore that damned his soul should be
 Or else a change of things he'd see
 To which our feelings did assent
 To have him damned were all content
 His negro boy he whipped outright
 For nought but just to vent his spite
 Because the sick had not obeyed
 He raved, and like a donkey brayed.
 My mind on him I'd like to free
 But as I'm placed I'll let him be
 Time will show his heart is rotten
 And sure his name will be forgotten.⁶⁷

On October 2, Smith, who had been acting commander for about five weeks, received orders to have the battalion arrive in Santa Fe before October 10, or Brigadier General Stephen W. Kearny might discharge them from active military service.⁶⁸ The next day, he had Sanderson cull out the ailing who would not be able to make a forced march to Santa Fe.⁶⁹ Smith led some 250 healthy men (fifty from each of the five companies) to Santa Fe at a quick pace, arriving October 9.

⁶⁶Sanderson, Journal, September 28, 1846, 13.

⁶⁷Hyde, Journal, 24.

⁶⁸Coray, Journal, October 2, 1846; Tyler, *A Concise History*, 163; Hyde, Journal, October 3, 1846.

⁶⁹The sick and family detachments were ordered to Pueblo in future Colorado, because it was a suitable place to winter. In 1846 several large families of Mormon converts from Mississippi headed west to meet with the main body of the Saints from Nauvoo under Brigham Young; since Young's vanguard expedition was postponed until 1847, the Mississippians wintered in Pueblo. Philip St. George Cooke, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California* (1878; rpt., New York: Arno Press, 1976), 105–6.

Sanderson accompanied the healthy men rather than the sick detachment. Tyler observed acerbically: "The fact of Dr. Sanderson leaving the sick behind while he proceeded on with those who were healthy, is a fair indication of the interest he took in attending to the duties of his office."⁷⁰ However, after mid-October Sanderson nearly vanishes from the men's journals, possibly because these healthiest men had less need to interact with him. It would be a stretch to say that the men accepted the doctor; they probably learned to tolerate him.

SANDERSON'S JOURNAL

Sanderson's journal covers from August 24, 1846—the day after Allen died and the day Lieutenant Smith and Sanderson left Fort Leavenworth—to January 21, 1847, when the battalion reached Warner's Ranch in California. His journal unfortunately contains very few descriptions of his medical diagnoses and treatments. He arrived at Council Grove in present-day Kansas on August 31, and, on September 1, 1846, "attended sick call this being the first morning it ever sounded in this camp," recorded Sanderson. "About fifty men reported themselves sick. but on this matter I doubted their judgement, and I thought some eight or ten out of that number was indisposed from eating quantities of grapes, peanuts, etc."⁷¹ Bowel-loosening calomel would have been his prescription for this ailment. On September 11, he recorded, "Our sick improving," although he does not specify what they were recovering from.⁷²

Sanderson's comment on Alva Phelps's death five days later is quite perfunctory: "This man died very suddenly indeed. From some affliction of the heart. I think."⁷³ On November 3 near the Rio Grande, Private James Hampton, whom Sanderson had treated and released "as ready for duty," in Tyler's words, died of an unspecified ailment. According to Tyler, the death occurred "about 2' oclock in the afternoon of the same day,"⁷⁴ while, according to Sanderson, "about day break this morning we buried a man." Sanderson also noted that day, "Twenty men on sick report . . . three cases of meas-

⁷⁰Tyler, *A Concise History*, 163.

⁷¹Sanderson, Journal, August 31, 1846, 3.

⁷²Ibid., September 11, 1846, 7.

⁷³Ibid., September 16, 1846.

⁷⁴Tyler, *A Concise History*, 186.

les.”⁷⁵ This handful of entries is the sum total of medical comments in Sanderson’s journal.

I would argue that the value of Sanderson’s journal lies in related topics—his astute comments on military affairs and his gift for describing the land before him. Even though he must have appreciated and counted on Smith’s support of his medical directives, he realized that Smith was rather junior in grade and experience to perform such a demanding task as marching the battalion across half a continent, especially given the forbidding terrain. Sanderson attributed some of the problems with the Mormon soldiers to Smith’s lack of experience, “but I venture to predict when they once get under an officer properly appointed by Genl. Kearny things will be different.”⁷⁶ When Captain Philip St. George Cooke assumed command in Santa Fe, Sanderson wrote approving, “Our new Commander Cook. Formerly Capt. Cook 1st. Dragoons I think a very good officer.”⁷⁷

In addition to Sanderson’s misgivings about Smith, he also carped about the Mormon soldiers, commenting on September 20, “I must confess I have never seen just such a set of men together in my life. No discipline no subordination nor nothing else. They can be brought to the mark. [But] this Battalion will cost the Government more money in proportion than any Corps they [United States] have, and if not mistaken will render less service.”⁷⁸ Sanderson accurately predicted one of the battalion’s important accomplishments later in California: “The only way or plan the Government can adopt to make them useful is to put them to work building Fortifications,” which was exactly their job in constructing Fort Moore in Los Angeles.⁷⁹

On September 23, about a week before the sick detachment was sent to Pueblo, Sanderson commented negatively about the practicality of long marches with unseasoned troops:

I think this expedition will satisfy our Government that marching an army to Santa Fe California &c is not so easy accomplished as talked about, and that is not all. I feel confident that marching troops

⁷⁵Sanderson, Journal, November 9, 1846, 25.

⁷⁶Ibid., September 30, 1846, 13.

⁷⁷Ibid., October 21, 1846, 19.

⁷⁸Ibid., September 20, 1846, 10.

⁷⁹Ibid., September 14, 1846, 10.

such distances breaks them down. They have not the physical force nor mental vigor that they had when they started and of course not efficient for the field if I may use the vulgar term. They are broken down by fatigue. I will speak for my humble self as an individual. I shall return home I have no doubt satisfied with campaigning on the Prairies.⁸⁰

Leaving Santa Fe on October 19, 1846, the battalion followed the Rio Grande south. After nearly a month, on November 21 Cooke had to decide near modern Deming whether to follow the Old Spanish Road to Chihuahua or to head west toward the original goal of California. The men were very concerned about the route and prayed that Cooke would continue westward where they hoped to join their families—which they thought of as Brigham Young’s destination. The evening before Cooke’s decision, “Father [David] Pettegrew and Levi W. Hancock visited every man in camp requesting all to ask the Lord to direct our course for the best, even changing the mind of the Colonel.”⁸¹ Cooke’s decision to break west across the desert near present-day Las Cruces, New Mexico, caused great rejoicing. Hancock recorded: “We were glad, we wanted to go that way.”⁸²

Although Sanderson was not consulted on this decision, he penned his disagreement in his journal: “I do not believe his [Cooke’s] organ of firmness predominates at any rate. . . . We then launched out on a plain due West never before traveled. This move I do not think prudent for should we fail to find water our enterprise is at an end.” He attributed the decision to Cooke’s opinion that, on the southern route, “we should probably have a little fighting to do. For my part I would prefer dying on the battle field to perishing in the desert.”⁸³

He struck a more comic note on September 20: “I was somewhat amused to day passed two men seated on the grass . . . I thought they was devoutly engaged in prayer or some religious cer-

⁸⁰Ibid., September 24, 1846, 11.

⁸¹“Extracts of the Journal of Henry W. Bigler,” 44.

⁸²Herbert A. Hancock, ed., *The Saving Sacrifice of the Mormon Battalion from the Journals of Levi Ward Hancock* (N.p.: Bystander at Large Productions, 2000), 115.

⁸³Sanderson, Journal, November 21, 1846, 29.

emony. Curiosity prompted me to ride up when lo and behold they were playing cards on the wild plains. I apologized for my intrusion and left them.”⁸⁴

Ten days later as the battalion was near Rabbit Ears Butte in present-day New Mexico, Sanderson recorded wearily: “To day has been one of the hardest marches we have had on the men and animals.” He continued, “I never saw any thing present a more desolate and barren appearance than the country we have travelled over to day. Much wind and dust in such quantities as to produce almost suffocation. Some of our animals dropped dead and others were left by the road side to die. And what is left look miserable.”⁸⁵

Santa Fe palled on him quickly, although he does not give his reasons: “I am heartily tired of this place and with all the fatigue and danger before me I would rather proceed on to California than remain here.”⁸⁶ In this opinion, he was in rare accord with the Mormons. William Coray of B Company wrote, “The Spaniards in Santa Fe are miserly in the extreme and appear much like the lower classes of Germans. . . . Though there are some well informed genteel Spaniards in Santa Fe who treat strangers with civility, yet, the great mass of them are misers.”⁸⁷ Private Azariah Smith attended a Catholic mass, then “stayed to see the Ladies; some of which looked pretty; others looked like destruction.”⁸⁸ Coray primly added that the “ill manners of the females disgusted me whether it be true or false, I was told that nearly all present were prostitutes.”⁸⁹

The trek across the desert of southern New Mexico was a grueling experience for the soldiers. In late November approaching a small spring, Sanderson wrote, “I found here a poor fellow belonging to the Command with a poor Horse and some fifty Canteens strung round the animals neck and other places full of water going

⁸⁴Ibid., September 20, 1846, 9.

⁸⁵Ibid., September 30, 1846, 13.

⁸⁶Ibid., October, 9–19, 1846, 18.

⁸⁷Coray, Journal, October 13, 1846.

⁸⁸Azariah Smith, quoted in Norma Baldwin Ricketts, *The Mormon Battalion: U.S. Army of the West, 1846–1848* (Logan: Utah State University Pres, 1996), 69.

⁸⁹Coray, Journal, October 14, 1846.

back to meet his thirsty companions.”⁹⁰ The next day, he gloomily predicted: “A good deal of dissatisfaction among the Mormons and officers of the Battalion. and should we fail to get water to night our campaign is at an end.”⁹¹

He commented repeatedly on the hardships of the march. In December as the battalion was crossing Arizona, he recorded that the men were “suffering very much from the want of Shoes.” Some of the men used, “Raw hides. Some have their feet wrapped up with blanket and pieces of old cloth.”⁹² Sanderson had earlier on September 1, compared the trek of the Santa Fe trail with the roads other Americans traveled. “No one can form an idea of this road without they travel it. Imagine yourself on a fine turnpike road, and then you can have some idea of this road,” he wrote sarcastically.⁹³

On the personal, even poignant, side, he confessed on September 9, not even two weeks out, “Have been troubled a good deal to day thinking about home.”⁹⁴ Then he wrote later about another mail delivery, “An Express arrived from Fort Leavenworth. Of course every person was anxious to hear some from their wife’s and children,” he continued, “others from their parents, and some their Sweethearts, and some disappointed not hearing from any body, and others having nobody to hear from.” The drudgery of the march began soon enough. “The mail was opened and each individual received his packages. . . . We started on our march crossing some of the worst sand hills I ever saw.”⁹⁵

With remarkable judiciousness, Sanderson commented on the effectiveness of the Apaches as warriors. In the past twelve years they had “killed and taken prisoners over twenty thousand Mexicans and destroyed and stolen property amounting to fifteen millions of dollars.”⁹⁶ Evenhandedly, he also related how a village of Mexicans lured a party in, “made them drunk, and then butch-

⁹⁰Sanderson, *Journal*, November 22, 1846, 30.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, November 23, 30–31.

⁹²*Ibid.*, December 20, 1846, 47.

⁹³*Ibid.*, September 1, 1846, 4.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, September 9, 1846, 6.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, September 17, 1846, 8.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, November 17, 1846, 27.

ered [them] indiscriminately in the most barbarous manner.”⁹⁷ Then he summarized: “I do not wish it to be understood that I do not think the Apache’s a bad Indian. I have no doubt they are the most desperate and daring on the continent. But they have had a course pushed towards them.”⁹⁸

In contrast, he praised the agricultural Pimas as “honest and industrious . . . [and] the “happiest [people] to all appearances I have ever seen.” He also reported, “They seldom go to war, but when excited to it, are a very troublesome enemy. They use clubs.”⁹⁹

Sanderson genuinely admired the frontier skills of Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, the famous son of Sacagawea of Lewis and Clark fame, who was one of the expedition’s hired guides. On November 25, Sanderson accompanied Charbonneau hunting in the Guadalupe Mountains on what is now the New Mexico/Arizona border. This “very enterprising daring fellow” almost immediately shot a large antelope and “had the skin off[f] and cut up I am confident in five minutes.” Continuing the same hunt, they encountered “three Grisly Bears a Mother with two Cubs half grown. This man [Charbonneau] pulls off[f] his coat and hat ties a hanker chief around his head and away he starts up the Mountain to shoot them.” Sanderson heard two sharp reports and the echoes of gunfire, “so quick you would not credit that it was from the same gun. This was one of the most exciting as well as hazardous scenes I ever witnessed. After he shot the first time she immediately made towards him. He shot the second time and what is almost incredible both the Balls entered the same place.”¹⁰⁰

Cooke recorded the same episode of frontier theater, adding that the cubs escaped only because Charbonneau was out of ammunition. Then “the bear was rolled down, and butchered before the wagons passed.”¹⁰¹

Showing contrasting ineptitude was a hunt Sanderson went on in early December with U.S. Congressman-elect Willard Hall from Missouri, a former private of the First Missouri Mounted Vol-

⁹⁷Ibid, November 29, 1846, 34.

⁹⁸Ibid., November 29, 1846, 34–35.

⁹⁹Ibid., December 22 and 23, 1846, 48, 50.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., November 25, 1846, 32.

¹⁰¹Cooke, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California*, 134–35; see also Sanderson, Journal, November 25, 1846, 32.

unteer Regiment. He and Sanderson wounded a wild bull. After chasing it several miles, Hall's mule "took into its head to attack the bull and away he ran directly towards the Bull." The hapless Hall, who had lost control of his mount, frantically yelled, waved his arms, and finally "threw himself from the mule." Sanderson rode up and dispatched the bull.¹⁰²

CONCLUSION

The popular image of Dr. George B. Sanderson as "Dr. Death," the nemesis of the Mormon Battalion, is overdue for revision. He had no gentle hand with his patients; but his competence met the U.S. Army's rigorous standards and his treatments, though now discredited, were neither irresponsible nor malicious in the context of the times. Rather, they fell within the range of approved and accepted treatments, even though some other contemporary physicians were backing off from applying them with full rigor.

Sanderson's most common medical treatment—a combination of calomel and arsenic—seems to have been based on an assessment that the Mormon before him was malingering, rather than examining the specific symptoms of each individual. I consider that his treatments, though standard, probably did more harm than good, although this was the fault of the state of American medical knowledge, not Sanderson's personal failings. Unquestionably, Sanderson had a low opinion of Mormons, particularly their ability to function as soldiers. A more serious issue, however, was that the Mormon soldiers lacked faith in his motives and in his desire to care for them. Sanderson's harsh approach, backed up by Smith's enforcement of the chain of command, did nothing to allay these tensions; and he must bear responsibility for his harsh medical manner and inability to nurture the men in his care.

However, I reject as completely improbable the myth that he deliberately murdered men in his care, a myth recorded and amplified by Daniel Tyler. Nor was he a tyrannical and insensitive anti-Mormon. Sanderson's journal provides a new view of the Mormon Battalion, astute observations on Andrew Jackson Smith, admiring appreciation for Charbonneau's frontier skills, and insightful and surprisingly evenhanded descriptions of the Indians whom the Mormon Battalion encountered. He is still very much a mysterious figure; but this

¹⁰²Sanderson, *Journal*, December 5, 1846, 39.

fuller picture of him shows a more complex, interesting, and perhaps more responsible and responsive individual than the stereotype of “Dr. Death.”

REVIEWS

Peter Crawley. *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church. Volume Two: 1848–1852*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 2005. 501 pp. Annotations, notes, illustrations, indexes. Cloth, \$65.00. ISBN 0–8425–2603–X

Reviewed by Curt A. Bench

A few years ago I reviewed Peter Crawley's first volume in his projected trilogy of descriptive bibliographies of the Mormon Church in another journal. Since my basic depiction applies to this second volume as well, some repetition is in order to provide an introduction to new readers:

Arranged chronologically, this handsomely bound and printed volume gives detailed descriptions of books, fleshing out their content, historical context, and even physical characteristics (size, type of binding, et cetera). Author/title, biographical, and subject indexes ensure ease in finding information. Crawley defines "book" as "any printed piece with one or more pages having text bearing on some Church issue . . . produced by Mormons in support of the [LDS] Church." Items excluded are individual newspaper or magazine articles, maps, prints, bank notes, and ephemeral pieces such as printed forms or elders' licenses.¹

In this second volume, Crawley lists and describes more than twice as many printed items (768) as the first volume (345), covering a time period only a fourth of the first volume's (four years versus seventeen), but surprisingly, done in nearly the same number of pages. In the 1840s and 1850s, the growth of the LDS Church in Europe and elsewhere accelerated dramatically and, correspondingly, so did its publications. Pamphleteers like Orson and Parley Pratt, John Taylor, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, Orson Spencer, James H. Flanigan, and John S. Davis produced scores of missionary tracts

¹Curt Bench, Review, *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 21 (2001): 102.

and other literature designed to build and defend the fledgling faith.

Many of the books found in both volumes of *A Descriptive Bibliography* have had a tremendous impact on Mormonism, yet most Mormons will likely never see most of them. Therefore, Peter Crawley provides a valuable service by describing these works in detail and giving readers a brief but invaluable history of the publications and those who wrote and produced them.

The publications in Volume 2 run the gamut from well-known (e.g., the Book of Mormon in various editions, including the first six in foreign languages) to obscure (e.g., *Who Is the Liar?* by Thomas Smith, 1850?). Nor do small ephemera escape Crawley's attention. See, for example, "Cupid's Regalia," an invitation made out to "[blank] and ladies," for a wedding party held in Salt Lake City in 1852 (346–47).

There are many "firsts" found in this tome. Among them is *Second General Epistle of the Presidency of the Church . . .*, October 20, 1849, the "first sheet ever printed in the Great Salt Lake Valley since the days of the Nephites" (103). This description is written in the right margin of the first page of a copy held at the LDS Church Archives (103).

Another is the first edition of the Pearl of Great Price, compiled and published by Franklin D. Richards in 1851, twenty-nine years before it was canonized as the fourth "standard work" of the Church. That book had its own "firsts," such as the initial appearance in print of "A Revelation and Prophecy," Joseph Smith's well-known prophecy on the Civil War, now Doctrine and Covenants 87. Most Latter-day Saints probably do not know (I didn't) that Mormonism's most famous hymn, "Come, Come Ye Saints," was "composed by [William] Clayton in the Iowa camps, April 15, 1846, upon learning that his wife Diantha had just born (sic) him a son" and first appeared in what is now an extremely rare 1848 broadside, *Songs from the Mountains*.

Although the works in this volume are those "produced by Mormons in support of the Church," not all of them enjoyed the official sanction of Church leaders. Indeed, some of Apostle Orson Pratt's publications, *Great First Cause*, *The Seer*, and *The Holy Spirit* were condemned by Brigham Young and all of the Twelve Apostles but Pratt himself. They went so far as to say that "where these objectionable works, or parts of works, are bound in volumes, they should be cut out and destroyed." Crawley points out, however, that "it would seem this injunction was seldom followed" (188).

In my review of Crawley's first volume, I pointed out that he presupposes that his readers have a "basic knowledge of Mormon history," but I added "that a knowledge of bibliographic and book jargon, or an appendix, would be helpful. Many readers may not be familiar with *state*, *issue*, *verso* and *recto*, *signature*, *blind stamped*, and *wrappers* and other terms. However such

language is used minimally and does not interfere with understanding or enjoying the book" (*JWHA Journal*, 102). The same observation applies to this second volume.

I would also like to have seen more illustrations (and in some cases, better quality reproductions; some illustrations were too dark or fuzzy), but I suppose that because more illustrations would add to the size of the book, it would also increase its already hefty (but fair) price.

Sadly, sales of this volume will mainly be confined to the ranks of historians, determined researchers, serious scholars, libraries, and book collectors; but it deserves a wider audience. However, with only a 1,300-copy print run and a price tag of \$65, it could not achieve widespread readership in any case. Worse still is the apathy and historical illiteracy that abounds among Church members (and to be fair, in our society as a whole) that would preclude a large audience for this or any serious historical reference work.

A culture is judged, at least to some extent, by the literature it produces—the written word—and whatever one may think of the published works of Mormonism, Peter Crawley has provided a valuable tool with which to unearth and examine some of the core material that composed the religious movement begun by Joseph Smith and carried on by his successors. There are simply no other reference books that provide the breadth and depth of bibliographic and historical detail of early Mormon printed works as do the first two volumes of Peter Crawley's *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church*. I can only look forward with eager anticipation for Volume 3.

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Sally Denton. *Faith and Betrayal: A Pioneer Woman's Passage in the American West*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005. xviii, 216 pp. Notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$23.00; ISBN: 1-4000-4135-X

Reviewed by Jeffery Ogden Johnson

Sally Denton, an award-winning investigative reporter, wrote this "history" of her great-grandmother, Jean Rio Griffiths Baker Pearce, a nineteenth-century convert to Mormonism. She and her family joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in London. After her husband's death on September 3, 1849, she brought her children, ranging in

age from four to seventeen, a daughter-in-law, Eliza, her husband's brother and her husband's uncle and aunt to the United States.

Jean Rio began her diary on January 4, 1851, the day before they left their London home, and concludes with only a few scattered entries after their arrival in Salt Lake Valley on September 29, 1851. The last daily entry is dated May 8, 1880, twenty-nine years later. This well-written diary has been published several times¹ and has long been lauded as a superior emigrant diary for its vivid details, skillful use of imagery, romantic sensibilities, and candor. The Museum of Church History and Art has Jane Rio Pearce's diary as the narrative foundation for its award-winning exhibit on emigration from England.

I am a great-grandson of Jean Rio Pearce and Denton's second cousin.² I remember fondly Sally's grandmother, who lived in Nevada but who often attended Baker family reunions, either in Richfield, Utah, the family's home town or in Salt Lake City. An important element in the Baker family story is a piano which we believed Jean Rio brought across the plains and which was exhibited for many years in the Bureau of Information on Temple Square (now the site of the Visitors Center South). My brothers and I would always run in to see it and feel proud of our pioneer heritage. It is now

¹Two published versions contain only the emigration (1851) portion of the diary: (1) Kenneth L. Holmes, ed. and comp., "By Windjammer and Prairie Schooler, London to Salt Lake City: Jean Rio Baker," in *Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trails, 1840–1890* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1984), 203–81; and (2) Emma Cynthia Nielsen Mortensen, *Two Mormon Pioneers: History of Alva Benson; Diary of Jean Rio Baker* (Hyrum, Utah: Downs Printing, 1986), 135–95. A third version is complete: "Jean Rio Griffiths Baker," in Daughters of Utah Pioneers Lesson Committee, comp., *An Enduring Legacy*, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1978–89), 10 (1987), 193–240. The ocean voyage has been reproduced in Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, "Jean Rio Griffiths Baker (Pearce) (1810–1883)," *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 203–21. It was also partially serialized by Marcus L. Smith, as "Jean Rio Baker: Sunday—A Beautiful Morning," *Latter-day Women* 2 (June 1994): 29–34 (January 4–February 24, 1851); "Jean Rio Baker: 'O Slavery, How I Hate Thee!'" *ibid.*, July 1994, 39–45 (February 24–March 22, 1851); "Jean Rio Baker: Unseen and Unknown Danger," *ibid.*, August 1994, 50–55 (April 19–May 21, 1851).

²My grandmother, Elizabeth Baker Ogden, and Denton's grandmother, Hazel Baker Denton, were half sisters. Their father (their mothers were plural wives) was William George Baker, Jean Rio Pearce's son, who was a teenager when they emigrated from England. My grandmother died before I was born.

displayed in the Museum of Church History and Art.

The piano appears as a major feature in Denton's book. I first met Sally when another cousin called and asked if I would show Sally the piano. I met her and her two teenaged sons at the museum. She told me that she had a contact with a major publisher to tell Jean Rio's story. I was enthusiastic about this project and corresponded with her occasionally during its writing. In a pre-publication draft, I was shocked to read that the piano is in an "elaborate presentation at the temple in Salt Lake City" (xiv). I wrote Denton, asking if she thought we had been in the temple when we saw the piano. She answered that she would make the correction before the book appeared, but the error remained in the published version.³

In 2003 when she was touring with her first book about Mormonism, *American Massacre: The Tragedy at Mountain Meadows, September 1857* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), she and her parents visited me at the LDS Church Office Building, and her father later donated to the LDS Church Archives the correspondence of his grandmother, Nicolena Bertlesen Baker.

The core of Jean Rio's diary is her superb travel narrative, and Denton uses the beautiful language of the diary to tell the story of crossing the ocean and plains: "She [Jean Rio] 'walked under overhanging rocks, which seemed only to need the pressure of a finger to send them down headlong.' Lkening them to old English castles, she gathered relics of silver and iron ore. 'Our road is so steep as to seem almost like going down a staircase,' she wrote. She was intrigued by 'the property of the atmosphere' that revealed far-off landmarks in sharp focus" (101). But Denton's voice is always audible. When Denton tells of Jean Rio seeing graves along the trail, she talks about the problem of women's dresses getting caught in the wheel spokes. Denton notes that American feminist Amelia Bloomer "had been advocating full trousers—known as bloomers—worn under shorter skirts. But such reformed fashion . . . was far from acceptable in the patriarchal Mormon society" (97). In reality Brigham Young had commented on the problems in women's dresses several times in public speeches and advocated a Bloomer-like garment called the Deseret dress which "consisted of a loose-fitting, high collared blouse, full skirt about mid-calf in length, and full pantaloons to the ankle."⁴

Denton's goal was to "reconstruct Jean Rio's life from the evidence

³Jeffery O. Johnson, Email to Sally Denton, April 21, 2005; Denton to Johnson, April 21, 2005.

⁴Gayle V. Fischer, "Dressing to Please God: Pants-Wearing Women in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Religious Communities," *Communal Societies* 15 (1995: 55–74; Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher,

that has survived” (xvi) and to explain why Jean Rio later left Utah and Mormonism. In her epilogue, she states: “For so many years, Jean Rio was deprived [of] her voice. Then the church distorted it. My goal has been to restore it” (183).

In my judgment, both as a descendant and as a historian, Denton has distorted Jean Rio Pearce’s voice out of all recognition, and this work should be considered fiction instead of history or biography. Among Denton’s most serious failures are: (1) she did not research the major, relevant, and readily available sources; (2) she often misunderstands Mormon doctrine and history and apparently made no effort to have her manuscript reviewed by knowledgeable experts; and (3) in the absence of information, she freely invents motivations, intentions, and conclusions.

The errors of fact are too numerous to mention; but, for example, Denton states: “John Taylor baptized Jean Rio Baker and her husband, Henry Baker, in London on June 18, 1849” and “A fellow missionary, Wilford Woodruff, baptized the Baker children around the same time” (33, 36, 179). The baptism date is correct, but nothing else is. According to the records of Poplar Branch, the LDS branch in a middle-class area of London, Henry’s nineteen-year-old brother, Benjamin, was the first member of the family to be baptized (May 21, 1849), followed by Jean’s and Henry’s sixteen-year-old son Walter a few days later. After Henry’s and Jean Rio’s baptism, the next family member, fourteen-year-old William George, occurred in August. Two more Baker children were baptized in 1850. All of them—parents and children alike—were baptized by Samuel Purdy, a local leader and probably a neighbor. Neither John Taylor nor Wilford Woodruff was in England in June 1849.

Denton states that Jean Rio dismayed her son William, after they settled in Ogden, Utah, by marrying “a ‘Gentile’ named Edward Pearce—one of the relatively few non-Mormons living among the Saints” (152–53) in 1864. Edward Pearce was a Mormon, in fact, a former neighbor from Poplar in London, baptized after the Bakers had left for America. However, Samuel Purdy had baptized his daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, in February 1849 a few months before the Bakers were baptized. By the 1860s, the Pearces, the Bakers, and Samuel Purdy were all living in Ogden, Utah. Pearce’s wife died two years before his marriage to Jean Rio. This information would have been available with a few mouse-clicks from the Church’s AncestralSearch website. Ward, local histories, and family biographies would have also supplied further evidence of Edward’s lifelong commitment to Mormonism. Denton’s assertion of marriage to a Gentile is pure fabrication.

Denton is also wrong in claiming that only a few non-Mormons lived in Utah in 1864. Both Salt Lake City and Ogden had non-Mormon churches in 1864. Though a minority, federal territorial officials, the officers and soldiers stationed at Fort Douglas, and non-Mormon merchants made up a sizeable fraction of the population.

Denton tries to create drama by claiming: Jean Rio “had begun to lose faith not long after her arrival in Salt Lake City and had now suffered a series of serious blows—the reality of the church’s hierarchy; the authoritarian, dictatorial patriarchy of Brigham Young; the horrendous Mountain Meadows Massacre; the church’s turning a blind eye to her poverty; even the expropriation of the piano she had brought across an ocean and a continent. Jean Rio of all people knew that rejecting the church openly was not a choice if she was to remain in Utah” (152). Although it is true that leaving the church came with social stigma, in point of fact, many Utahns “rejected the church openly.” The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints began proselytizing among Utah Saints in the summer of 1863 and baptized many Utah Mormons, including the sister of Nicolena Bertlesen Baker, Jean Rio’s daughter-in-law. Also beginning during this period was the Godbeite movement, whose leaders were from Britain and had family and economic backgrounds similar to Jean Rio’s. This movement began publishing the paper that became the *Salt Lake Tribune* as an alternate and usually very hostile voice.

An egregious example of Denton’s fabrications is her claim that two of Jean Rio’s sons, Edward and John, “fled Zion” in 1853 and 1859 respectively and that the “plans for escape were of necessity kept secret from all neighbors, friends, and acquaintances, and especially from their fundamentalist brother, William” (138). I found absolutely no documentary evidence—including family stories—to support this tale. Considering the difficulty of travel, there was an amazing amount of traffic between Utah and California during the 1850s and 1860s. In fact, Edward returned from California in 1857 to be endowed.⁵

Denton also milks drama out of William Baker’s marriage to the widowed Nicolena Maria Bertlesen, a Danish convert. (She was his plural wife.) According to Denton’s version, Nicolena fell in love with a fellow Dane, Christian Christensen. He was mortally wounded at the beginning of the Utah’s Black Hawk War on April 21, 1866. Denton says that Nicolene “insisted on a deathbed wedding to Christensen (147) and that, “despite her objection, her marriage to the beloved Christensen was ‘set aside’ by Brigham

⁵Endowment House Records, Book B, p. 124, #0183404, Family History Library.

Young. . . . Her only avenue . . . to eternal salvation now rested with William Baker” (150). Despite Denton’s claims, all historical accounts say that Christensen was dead when he was found and there is no recorded marriage with Christensen. Nicolena Maria Bertlesen was sealed to Niels Christian Christensen on June 1, 1867, with William acting as Christian’s proxy.⁶ William thus made it possible for Nicolena to be sealed to “the beloved Christensen.” Denton does not mention that, far from being forced into an eternal union, Nicolena, had her sealing to Christensen canceled and had herself sealed to William in 1888.⁷ This story does not sound like the melodrama of a heartbroken heroine, but rather a generous and loving act by a man, who built a marriage with the “heroine” so happy and strong that she confirmed her desire to be with him in the most emphatic terms available in her religious tradition.

Although Denton calls William (her direct-line ancestor) a “fundamentalist” (by which she means ultra-orthodox) because he married a plural wife, the term is wrong-headed on a couple of counts. Nicolene was his only plural wife, married when plural marriage was official Church policy. Nothing in his letters, his mother’s diary, or his public and Church activities can be construed an excess of zeal. He was very active in Sevier County’s cultural and political affairs.

Nor did he take what might be considered an ultra-orthodox position of severing relationships with his relatives who left the Church. Although Jean Rio considered herself a former Mormon after she went to California in 1869, he maintained a close relationship with her and his three brothers in California (Walter followed Jean Rio in November 1870), as well as with his inactive sister and brother-in-law in Ogden. Jean Rio records in her diary visiting him in 1875, spending several months with him and his plural families. After her death in 1883, William visited his brothers in California commemorated by a family photograph showing all the brothers.

Denton’s grasp of Mormon history is best described as shaky. For example, she states that “Wilford Woodruff’s proclamation . . . left Nicolena to fend for herself and her large family in a primitive village” (179). This statement shows ignorance of the most immediate effect of the 1890 Manifesto. In reality, it virtually ended the relentless process of arrests and prosecutions called “the Raid” that had harassed plural families since the early 1880s. William had moved Nicolena to Monroe, a village south of Richfield, during the polygamy raids; but after the Manifesto, she moved back to Rich-

⁶Endowment House Sealing Records, June 1, 1867, microfilm #1149515, Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

⁷Manti Temple sealing records, August 3, 1888, Family History Library.

field, where William could more easily care for both his families.

Denton's skimpy research fails her altogether at several points, but she blithely fills in the blanks with irresponsible conjecture, often not even bothering to label them as such. For example, because the family preserves an unproved (and so far unconfirmable) story that Jean Rio's mother was French, Denton asserts: "The guillotine was 'an instrument adopted by the Revolutionists for the more scientific and humane beheading of the condemned.'" Almost all the members of the Rio family from Lamballe, Brittany—renamed Cotes-du-Nord by the revolutionary government—were among them" (5). She therefore connects Jean Rio's middle name with a French family, which she assumes is Jean Rio's mother's family (5–6). In point of fact, "Rio" came from the paternal line. Denton simply states that Jean Rio's parents were "distant Rio cousins" (9), a statement for which there is no proof.

Denton also refers to Jean Rio's father's family as descended from Scottish aristocracy (8) although the genealogical records themselves show that the family was decidedly middle class. She also overstates how much money the Bakers had in England so that she can contrast it with admittedly straitened circumstances in Utah: "In 1840, Jean Rio's paternal great-uncle, William Rio McDonald, bequeathed a substantial amount of property and cash to her. . . . What is obvious is that Jean Rio Baker was a very wealthy woman in her own right by 1840" (14, 15). The census does not support that statement.

Denton repeatedly mentions Jean Rio's piano, using it as a symbol of Brigham Young's oppression and dictatorial nature. She claims that in 1854 "Jean Rio was required to convey all of her property, including cash and goods as well as her beloved piano, to Young as 'Trustee in Trust' of the church. . . . The piano wound up in Amelia's Palace, the home of Young's favorite wife, a beautiful Englishwoman named Ann Eliza Webb Dee Young Denning, who would ultimately scandalize him and the church by filing for divorce and giving lectures nationwide critical of Mormonism" (129; she repeats the claim that Brigham Young took Jean Rio's piano on pp. xvi, 129–30, 152, 165, 169, 181).

Since I had showed Denton the piano, I took particular umbrage at her misrepresentation of this artifact. Denton has confused two of Brigham Young's wives, Amelia Folsom and Ann Eliza Webb. Neither was English. Ann Eliza never lived in Amelia's palace. Amelia moved into it only after Brigham Young's death (1877). Furthermore, Jean Rio's piano does not appear on any of the inventories of the Gardo House (Amelia's Palace). Many of the items in the old Bureau of Information on Temple Square had first been collected by the Deseret Museum (1869–1919), which had gathered and exhibited relics from pioneer families. Any items connected with Brigham Young or his family were carefully identified as

such in the catalogs, many of which still exist. None of them mentions this piano. I also examined inventories of Young family furniture, none of which list this particular piano.

Brigham Young did own pianos. Horace S. Eldredge, the Church agent in New York City, wrote Brigham Young that he was looking for a suitable piano.⁸ He evidently succeeded, and Brigham Young wrote to a piano company in 1864, complimenting it on the “excellent” instrument.⁹

The piano that the family has identified as Jean Rio’s still has its original label. It was made and sold by the London-based firm of Collard & Collard; the manufacturer’s mark dates its construction as during the 1830s. Although it would not have been uncharacteristic for a family to keep an instrument for decades, newer and better pianos were available at least twenty years before Jean Rio immigrated to America. Furthermore, despite the detail of Jean Rio’s diary, she nowhere mentions a piano. If she had brought it, it must have posed significant problems in shipping and transporting, and would have probably need some disassembling and crating to be transported by ox-team.

As a result, I have concluded that Jean Rio did not bring a piano with her. I suppose I have Denton’s sloppy research to thank for prodding me to do the research to dispel a myth, even a cherished childhood one.

In conclusion, I hope Denton’s two irresponsible forays into Mormon history will be her last. She engages in conspiracy thinking, claiming that the Church “excis[ed] the added portion of the diary that chronicled her [Jean Rio’s] break with it” (xv). In fact, in 1981 Church Historian Leonard J. Arrington and Assistant Church Historian Davis Bitton published a biographical sketch about Jean Rio that includes quotations about her dissatisfaction with the Church.¹⁰ Far from the Church’s sinister suppression of the diary, it was the LDS Church Archives which preserved, cared for, and gave researchers access to copies of the full diary. Denton self-righteously claims that “Mormon descendants of Jean Rio uphold the diary as evidence of a deeply spiritual woman devoted to the doctrines of the Church of Latter-days Saints” (xvii). That is not true. An inseparable part of my childhood stories about Jean Rio was that she had second thoughts about the Church and its doctrines. It came up, in tones ranging from regret to admiration, at

⁸Eldredge to Young, June 23, 1863, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

⁹Young to William A. Pond, December 16, 1864, Young Papers.

¹⁰Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, “Jean Baker: Gathering to Zion,” in their *Saints Without Halos: The Human Side of Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1981), 39–48.

every reunion I attended. Her descendants who left Mormonism but attended the family reunions would not have allowed such sugarcoating. Jean Rio's statements of disillusion with the Church were a part of the diary we read and continue to read in our families.

Denton also posits a conspiracy to have destroyed diaries that she thinks Jean Rio kept in Utah. Her "evidence" is: "It is neither characteristic nor credible that a woman of such candor, literary acumen, and faithful journal-keeping, with such devotion to recording her daily life and the world around her, would have suddenly ceased writing at the moment of perhaps the most trying crisis of her life" (xvi). This statement simply ignores the fact, plainly visible in the holograph diary, that Jean Rio stopped writing daily entries on March 22, 1852, and then started again, in the same book, indeed on the same page, eighteen years later. She begins by summarizing her activities since she stopped writing, surely an unnecessary act if she had been keeping a journal continuously. Also, why would she not have kept writing in the same book?

This catalogue of Denton's failures is far from complete, but her greatest failure is not allowing Jean Rio's true voice to speak. This failure causes me both anger and deep sorrow. I bought a paperback copy in a small bookstore in Peterborough, Vermont—hardly Mormon country. Because Denton was able to find a national publisher, this inaccurate and sensationalized book has found an undeservedly wide audience.

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Donald Q. Cannon, Arnold K. Garr, and Bruce A. Van Orden, eds. *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: The New England States*. Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2004. vi, 270 pp. Photographs, notes, index. Paper: \$19.95; ISBN 0-8425-2583-1

Reviewed by Shannon P. Flynn

The Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University has undertaken the project of an eight-volume series of regional studies in LDS history. So far, volumes have been published on California, the West, New York State, and Europe. This book on the New England states is the fifth in the series.

The introduction explains that, during the summer of 2002, a group of BYU faculty visited many of the sites in New England that are important to Mormon history. From that academically oriented field trip emerged a number of papers related to the ongoing Mormon experience in New England.

The book consists of a short introduction and twelve chapters spanning pre-Mormon missionary efforts to the construction of the Boston Temple—a diverse collection, to be sure.

I found most of the chapters interesting and well written. The book starts off with an attention-grabber: Richard O. Cowan and Mary Jane Woodger's description of the troubled and controversial planning and construction of the Boston Massachusetts Temple. For people who live in the western United States, that story is known mostly in bits and pieces. Here the authors bring the whole story together in a way that helps the reader grasp the intricacies of the legal wrangling, bad neighborhood feelings, and charges of religious bigotry. While most LDS temples have had a share of protests, the Boston Temple, as we learn here, had an extra dose. My only dissatisfaction with the chapter (and maybe this is a compliment) is that I wanted it to be longer. Some issues were only hinted at. The authors quote Clayton Christensen, Harvard business professor and a member of the local temple organizing committee, as saying, "We'd do it a lot differently if we had another shot at the process" (5). I would like to know more about how this prolonged controversy affected local members and if lessons were learned that could be passed on to others. Unfortunately, the article gives no other details on this point.

Two of the papers look at subjects somewhat removed from actual LDS experience in the New England states. Andrew Hedges, "Setting the Stage: John Eliot and the Algonquins of Eastern Massachusetts, 1646–90" traces the story of a Christian missionary's efforts among a Massachusetts tribe. This extensively researched chapter sets a context of efforts made by many early settlers to civilize and Christianize the indigenous peoples of the vast new continent. We also learn of the struggles that the missionaries had, not with the proselytes, but with the government and church hierarchy under whom they served.

The second chapter not directly related to LDS history is Roger B. Keller, "Unitarianism: Part of the Background of the Restoration," which provides a concise overview of Unitarian beliefs in the United States with periodic comparisons to early LDS religious thought. Although both chapters were well done, their connection to the book's subject is a bit strained.

The next three papers present fascinating views of noteworthy personalities who had a role in Mormon history in New England. The first, written by Lawrence R. Flake and Elaine M. Flake, "Wilbur W. Cox: First President of the Boston Massachusetts Stake," is a short biography of a man who led the

Church locally from 1951 until 1968. Cox was a man of seemingly endless energy and an engaging personality, one who furthered the Lord's work wherever he was called. Unfortunately, the authors were so uncritically admiring of Cox that I finished reading the chapter with the feeling that Cox was almost too good to be true.

The next chapter, "Growth of the Church in New England as Witnessed by Truman G. and Ann N. Madsen" written by W. Jeffery Marsh gives a much more evenhanded and balanced look at the experiences of the Madsen family, who had many sojourns in New England. Truman served a mission there (1946–48), did graduate work at Harvard (1953–57), returned with his family as mission president (1962–65), and followed up with a post-doctoral sabbatical (1969–70). This paper opens a window on the tight-knit, well-educated, and vibrant group of Church members who found themselves a part of each other's lives. Here is one anecdote:

On his return to New England as a mission president, one of Truman's first assignments was to ordain an older man in Halifax, Nova Scotia, to the Melchizedek Priesthood. After the ordination Truman asked, "How did you find your way into the Church?" "My son taught me," he replied. His son was Aubrey Fielden, then serving as branch president in Dartmouth. Truman then turned to Aubrey and asked, "How were you converted?" "My wife Thelma taught me." "How was she converted?" "Through her sister." "Who was she?" Truman inquired. "She was the Sister Smith you taught in Windsor, Nova Scotia, fifteen years ago." (151)

The third paper is a biography of Nathaniel H. Felt by Fred E. Woods. Although Felt spent most of his life away from New England, he was proud of his roots and, publishing an article defending Mormonism in 1865, signed it, "I remain an Essex County Man" (228). He joined the LDS Church in the fall of 1843 and quickly became branch president in Salem, Massachusetts. He made a good living as a tailor, but he and his family were soon forced by social pressure to move to Nauvoo where he became a force for good. He lived for several years in St. Louis, helping Mormons on their way to Salt Lake City. He died in 1887 leaving eight sons and five daughters.

Two papers take a very detailed look at the New England of Joseph Smith's period, fascinating to the aficionado, but probably too specialized for a general reader. Ray L. Huntington and David M. Whitchurch, "Eighteen Hundred and Froze to Death": Mount Tambora, New England Weather, and the Joseph Smith Family in 1816" uses contemporary resources and accounts to analyze the connections between a gigantic volcanic eruption on a small island in the Pacific and the "unseasonable temperatures, snow, and frost . . . that plagued New England farmers in the spring and summer of 1816" and probably influenced the Smith family's move to New York (93). Well written, it is nevertheless a very narrow topic.

Equally interesting is "The New England Common School Experience

of Joseph Smith Jr., 1810–1816,” by Dennis A. Wright and Geoffrey A. Wright. Much has been made of Joseph Smith’s educational experience, both pro and con. The authors present a good study of what that education may have been by comparing the relatively scanty LDS sources with broader descriptions of education in New England generally during that period. If the reader likes an in-depth study of a subject these two articles fill the bill.

Four other papers complete the book. Matthew O. Richardson wrote an article on sculptor Cyrus E. Dallin, a native of Utah but not a Mormon. Dallin produced several sculptures for the LDS Church over the years but his statue of Angel Moroni for the Salt Lake Temple held special significance for him. He once told a Mormon friend, “I consider that my ‘Angel Moroni’ brought me nearer to God than anything I ever did. It seemed to me that I came to know what it means to commune with angels from heaven” (211).

Arnold K. Garr contributed an excellent paper on the apostles as they campaigned briefly for Joseph Smith as U.S. president in the spring of 1844. Garr recounts the various ways in which these men, scattered throughout the East, learned the stunning news of Joseph Smith’s assassination.

Craig J. Ostler’s “Glimpses of Church History in New England: A Photo Essay” presents twenty well-annotated photographs. He has done a good job in tracking down exact locations for such places as the site of Joseph Smith’s birthplace, the Smith homesite in New Hampshire, and Brigham Young’s birthplace.

Finally, Craig K. Manscill’s “Missionary Activities in New England in the Early 1830s” chronicles the very beginnings of Mormon missionary work—largely a family-to-family effort. Samuel H. Smith, Orson Pratt, and Parley P. Pratt, names familiar in missionary lore, were among these early workers who brought in a harvest of converts, some of whom became the backbone of the Church.

Despite the two papers that would not seem to be logical inclusions, I would evaluate the book as a well-done contribution to an interesting series.

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Wayne L. Cowdrey, Howard A. Davis, and Arthur Vanick. *Who Really Wrote the Book of Mormon? The Spalding Enigma*. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, 2005, 558 pages. Seven appendices, notes, no index. Paper; no price listed; ISBN 0-7586-0527-7

Reviewed by Robert D. Anderson

Following the publication of *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), I was inundated with more than a thousand pages of letters, published material, manuscripts, and a CD-ROM challenging my dismissal of the Spalding Manuscript story. Wayne L. Cowdrey (a distant relative of Oliver Cowdery), Howard A. Davis, and Arthur Vanick are three strong advocates for the Spalding manuscripts as the Book of Mormon's main source. At more than 500 pages, *Who Really Wrote . . .* makes a detailed case that the Spalding story has been dismissed only as a result of successful public relations efforts by the LDS faithful. As evangelicals, they describe Mormonism as a religion that "burdens people with the charge to work throughout their lives to save themselves" and would lift that burden by having them rely on the "one true God who came to earth [and] does the work, not the person" (11–12).

The Spalding story was first popularized by D. P. Hulburt, a scoundrel of sorts, who was dismissed from the Mormon Church in 1833 and, in retaliation, traveled to Conneaut, Ohio, where, rumor had it, the Book of Mormon story had been taken from the writings of Solomon Spalding, a poor Congregational minister, who had died in 1816. Hulburt gathered testimony from eight witnesses who declared that they recognized aspects of Spalding's writings in the Book of Mormon. Spalding's brother, John, for instance, stated:

The book was entitled the *Manuscript Found*, of which he read to me many passages. It was an historical romance of the first settlers of America, endeavoring to show that the American Indians are the descendants of the Jews, or the lost tribes. It gave a detailed account of their journey from Jerusalem, by land and sea, till they arrived in America, under the command of Nephi and Lehi. They afterwards had quarrels and contentions, and separated into distinct nations, one of which he denominated Nephites, and the other Lamanites. Cruel and bloody wars ensued, in which great multitudes were slain. They buried their dead in large heaps, which caused the mounds so common in this country. . . . I have recently read *The Book of Mormon* and to my great surprise I find it nearly the same historical matter . . . as my brother's writings [which were] in the old style [and frequently contained the phrase] "And it came to pass." (40–41)

The other seven agreed, some adding additional names such as Moroni and Zarahemla, also commenting on the overuse of "and it came to pass." These eight were responsible citizens, one of them a physician. Some said that Spalding had written hundreds of pages and had several manuscripts. Hulburt made a second trip to Conneaut in 1833 and gathered more testimonies, but they were apparently destroyed, unpublished, in a printing office fire in the early 1840s. Hulburt made a third expedition in

late 1833 to meet Spalding's widow and gather the manuscript(s) but succeeded in obtaining only one, wrapped in brown paper with the penciled title "Manuscript Story—Conneaut Creek."

In November 1834, Hurlbut published the eight affidavits in *Mormonism Unveiled* (sic), written by editor E. D. Howe. Howe had also traveled to Conneaut, confirmed Hurlbut's witnesses, and gathered additional affidavits, although he did not publish them (73–74) in this first serious anti-Mormon work. Howe called "Manuscript Story—Conneaut Creek" a "fabulous account of a ship's being driven upon the American coast, while proceeding from Rome to Britain" but which Spalding had later "altered . . . by going farther back with the dates, and writing in the old scripture style, in order that it might appear more ancient." According to the witnesses, this Roman story in "Manuscript Story—Conneaut Creek" bears no resemblance to 'Manuscript Found,'" the later major manuscript (60).

"Manuscript Story—Conneaut Creek" would be lost, then found in 1884 in Honolulu by one of Howe's editor-successors in the printing office (then retired). It has been published many times, discounted as a source for the Book of Mormon by Mormons and non-Mormons alike, and replaced as a source for the Book of Mormon by psychological theories, which share the assumption that Joseph created the Book of Mormon by his own genius and imagination.

According to Spalding's widow, Spalding took the larger, more complete "Manuscript Found" to a Pittsburgh printer between 1812 and 1816, where Sidney Rigdon supposedly discovered it, copied or stole it (the manuscript has never turned up), then reworked it, inserting religion into the story. When he encountered Joseph Smith in the late 1820s, the two coluded in producing the Book of Mormon.

The LDS official account is that Rigdon met Smith for the first time in mid-December 1830, well after the book's publication. Mormon apologists have also challenged Rigdon's presence in Pittsburgh, argue that he did not know of the publishing house, could not have made the 520-mile roundtrip to Joseph Smith and back, and had no contact with Joseph Smith until after his conversion by reading the Book of Mormon given to him by Parley P. Pratt in late October 1830. Usually, the apologists also insist that "Manuscript Story—Conneaut Creek" was the same as "Manuscript Found."¹

Who Really Wrote the Book of Mormon: The Spalding Enigma is a detailed,

¹Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America*, 2 vols. (Independence: Zion's Printing and Publishing, 1951), 1:299–336; 2:127–58, 275–99; Lester E. Bush Jr., "The Spalding Theory Then and Now," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 10, no. 4 (Autumn 1977): 40–69; Brigham H. Roberts, "The Origin of the Book of Mormon: A Reply to Mr. Theodore Schroeder," *American Historical Maga-*

sometimes tedious, carefully documented refutation of the Mormon counter argument. The authors' examination, in correcting the historical record, makes many of the original claims possible and, sometimes, even probable. For example, they show evidence I found convincing that Sidney Rigdon was in Pittsburgh and had contact with the printing house during the important four years (118–45). The testimonies of those with varied connections to Pittsburgh or the printing office, which state that Rigdon stole or borrowed Spalding's manuscript date from decades after the supposed fact. In fact, as the years passed, more witnesses emerged to support the Spalding theory.

The book becomes more speculative in constructing the connection between Rigdon and Smith during the "translation" years of the Book of Mormon. The authors quote a diary entry from James Gordon Bennett, a responsible journalist, who recorded notes on August 7, 1831, which he published a week later: "The individuals who gave birth to this species of fanaticism . . . are the old and young Joe Smith's[,] [sic] Harris a farmer, Ringdon [sic] a sort of preacher on general religion from Ohio" who was also involved in money digging. "'Can we get that man here?'" asked the enthusiastic Smith's [sic]. . . . And after some time, by hook or by crook, they contrived to scrape together a little 'change' sufficient to fetch on the money dreamer from Ohio"—a distance of some 200 miles.² This date was three years before *Mormonism Unveiled* (197–203).

Cowdrey, Davis, and Vanick devote two lengthy chapters (237–308) to the "inscrutable" 1822–27 years of Oliver Cowdery and propose that he traveled through New York and Ohio, where he had family. He was, they suggest, a pedestrian peddler of tracts, pamphlets, scriptures, and scribal services. The authors see him as the link between Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon. In a speculative summary, they suggest that Cowdery, who came from a money-digging and magic background, was in contact with his distant "cousins," the Smiths, as early as 1822 (224–35). Sources for these conjectures include the printer/historian Orsamus Turner's 1849 recollections (238–41).

The authors then propose that Sidney Rigdon's sermons to the Disciples of Christ as early as 1828 suggested the content of the Book of Mormon. They place Rigdon "about twenty rods from the Smith house" in Manchester

zine 3, no. 6 (November 1908): 457–58; Richard I. Winwood, *Take Heed That Ye Be Not Deceived* (1992; rpt., Salt Lake City: Richard I. Winwood, 1995).

²[James Gordon Bennett], "Mormonism—Religious Fanaticism—Church and State Party," *New York Morning Courier and Enquirer*, August 31, 1831. See also Leonard J. Arrington, "James Gordon Bennett's 1831 Report on 'The Mormonites,'" *BYU Studies* 10, no. 5 (Spring 1970): 353–64.

as early as 1827, quoting neighbor Lorenzo Saunders in 1884–87 (317–21) and reinforced by seven less specific and less credible comments about this “mysterious stranger.” The authors’ careful reconstruction of Rigdon’s life during this period identify numerous times when he could have made round trips from Menton, Ohio, to Joseph Smith in Palmyra. Such trips would have taken about fifteen days or more (334–46).

The authors review Smith’s money-digging activities and various versions of the First Vision as evidence that he was secretive, deceptive, and manipulative. An appendix documents his activities between 1822 and 1830 (371–82). They likewise present evidence that Rigdon was unstable and deceptive (147–74); and although their discussion of Cowdery’s role is much less specific, it assumes his duplicity in money-digging and in producing the Book of Mormon.

The Spalding theory obviously expanded and became more speculative over the fifty years after 1834, garnering new attention as polygamy and statehood became national considerations. The authors then argue that the Latter-day Saints achieved a public relations coup when “Manuscript Story—Conneaut Creek” was found in 1884 and conflated with the never-found “Manuscript Found.” The lack of resemblances between the two manuscripts and between “Manuscript Story—Conneaut Creek” and the Book of Mormon ended the general popularity of the Spalding theory. However, knowledgeable attorney Theodore Schroeder commented: “[The] two leading sects of Mormons have published the first manuscript [“Manuscript Story—Conneaut Creek”] as a refutation of a theory which no one ever advocated, viz. That [this] manuscript . . . was the thing from which Smith et al. plagiarized the Book of Mormon.”³

As a reader, I found the book comprehensive, detailed, methodical, and frustrating to read. It suffers from four mechanical problems: (1) There is no index. (2) The running heads for each chapter do not include the chapter number, and the endnotes do not include either the chapter name or number to aid the reader, causing irritating searches to be sure I was reading the right note for the right chapter. (3) The dozens of testimonies or witness accounts span from 1831 to past 1900. The authors give the year of creation on first mention, but this year should have been mentioned each time the testimony is quoted. An 1884 testimony has much less weight than one given in 1834, and the reader should have that information. (4) The book lacks helpful sub-headings and each lengthy chapter overwhelms the reader, causing him or her to lose sight of a chapter’s main theme.

³Theodore Schroeder, “The Origin of the *Book of Mormon*,” *American Historical Magazine* 1, no. 5 (September 1906): 386, quoted in *Who Really Wrote . . .*, 77.

A puzzling omission is William H. Whitsitt, cited nowhere by Cowdery, Davis, and Vanick, although he is mentioned briefly in the preface by Dale Broadhurst. Whitsitt would have added strength to the authors' argument. Holder of doctor of divinity and doctor of laws degrees, Whitsitt was head of the Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, and later chair of the Department of Philosophy at Richmond College in Virginia. He wrote the most comprehensive theological review of the Book of Mormon by an outsider that exists. His manuscript was finished in 1885, revised in 1888, and given to the Library of Congress in 1908, two years before his death. His writing is erudite, eloquent, and, at times, delightful.

He strongly believed in the Spalding theory and clearly knew the difference between "Manuscript Story—Conneaut Creek" and "Manuscript Found." He wrote that Mormon missionaries in Hawaii "are eager to publish the Honolulu book, in order to show that it has no connection with the Book of Mormon. Nobody ever claimed that such a connection existed, who had any kind of right to form a judgment."⁴ He believed that the strongest evidence was the distinctive Disciples of Christ doctrines that appeared in the Book of Mormon, of which Sidney Rigdon was the only logical source:

Together they [these doctrines] constitute a cumulative argument which demonstrates that it is impossible the theological portion of the work could have been composed by any other than the hand of a Disciple theologian. . . . This single point is displayed in the emphasis that is laid upon gifts of the spirit, such as speaking with tongues, the interpreting of tongues, healing of the sick and other miracles, continued inspiration and revelation, and the effective ministration of angels. Among all the various leaders of the Disciples there is none but Sidney who has been charged with a violent inclination in that direction. . . .

In a few words, the theological contents of the Book of Mormon are of such a complexion that no person in America—no other person in the world—except Sidney Rigdon could or would have fashioned them."⁵

Cowdrey, Davis, and Vanick could well have included some quotations and a summary of his work as an eighth appendix.

Since 1999, three works, expanding on Fawn M. Brodie's psychobiography *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (2d ed. rev. [1945; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971]), have proposed

⁴William H. Whitsitt, *Sidney Rigdon: The Real Founder of Mormonism* [1885], manuscript assembled as typescript by Byron Marchant (Salt Lake City: Metamorphosis Publishing, 1988), 68. There is now a wealth of information concerning Whitsitt on the internet, and the Sidney Rigdon work is at <http://sidneyrigdon.com/wh/1891/whtb.htm>.

⁵*Ibid.*

more detailed psychological explanations for the Book of Mormon: William D. Morain, *The Sword of Laban: Joseph Smith, Jr., and the Dissociated Mind* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Press, 1998), my own *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith* already cited, and Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004). None of us has seen the Spalding theory as necessary; we understand Smith's book as a reflection of his life and environs. However, if the sixteen-year-old (or more) memories of some of the eight Spalding witnesses are accurate about specific Book of Mormon names of people and places, then Joseph Smith did have "Manuscript Found" in hand. The challenge to these memories comes from the prominent and prolific works of psychologist Elizabeth Loftus who literally demonstrated how false memories can be instilled, sometimes permanently.⁶

Otherwise, the general concepts of the Spalding testimonies/Book of Mormon storyline were widespread at the time—versions of the mound-builder legends. These beliefs were summarized by Ethan Smith, a Congregational minister, in his *A View of the Hebrews* (1823, 1825). He visited Palmyra in 1827, and Oliver Cowdery's family belonged to his congregation in Poultney, Vermont. Cowdery, Davis, and Vanick do not discuss Ethan Smith's work or psychological interpretations. But was there a connection between Joseph Smith and Solomon Spalding? And did it add to Joseph Smith's creation? If so, how did he get it?

Here, I think, one must expand imagination. There is, already mentioned, Bennett's assertion of a Rigdon-Smith connection. Furthermore, after Brodie's biography appeared in 1945, she discovered a second account of Joseph Smith's devastating 1826 Bainbridge hearing. For the first time, it provided evidence that during his money-digging years (1823–27), he had traveled alone to within a mile of Lake Erie, where he found his magic stone. This would be a one-way trip of more than two hundred miles, putting him within thirty or forty miles of Conneaut.⁷ Did he travel farther and hear about Spalding or the contents of his manuscript? And infallibly non-Mormon David Persuitte has speculated that Ethan Smith and Solomon Spalding, who attended the same seminary but in different years, may have been acquainted.⁸

None of these last speculations is very convincing, but the Spalding

⁶See, for example, Elizabeth Loftus, *The Myth of Repressed Memory: False Memory and Allegations of Sexual Abuse* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

⁷Brodie discussed her discovery in her second edition (441) but did not reprint it. It appears in Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America*, 484.

⁸David Persuitte, *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon* (Jefferson,

theory will not disappear. These writers have moved it from the absurd fringes back to a possibility. Over the past 150 years, the historicity of the Book of Mormon has been challenged on a number of fronts. Continued naturalistic, scientific, and historical research have reinforced the skeptic, and searching for its naturalistic origins is a valid quest. The authors know they have not proven their case but conclude with a challenge: "To those who will say that this work is nothing more than an effort to link a series of coincidences, we are moved to ask: How many coincidences are required to make a fact?" (368).

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Fred E. Woods. *Fire on Ice: The Story of Icelandic Latter-day Saints at Home and Abroad*. Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2005. 392 pages. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Paper: \$15.95; ISBN: 0-8425-2617-X

Reviewed by Kahlile B. Mehr

Fire and Ice chronicles missionary work in Iceland and the early gathering of Icelandic converts to America. After discussing the proselytizing of the 1850s, the book turns to the early history of Spanish Fork, Utah, and the founding of an Icelandic enclave there in 1855. It recounts the settlers' experiences as revealed in letters to friends back in Iceland. The history continues with the second period of proselytizing, 1873–1914, and finally the reestablishment of the LDS Church in Iceland after a sixty-year hiatus.

The history comprises only half of the book. There are several significant appendices. The first, called an epilogue, is an account of the celebrations and commemorations in both Spanish Fork and the Westmann Islands, Iceland, concerning the heritage of the 410 Icelanders who immigrated to Utah before 1914. It recounts the efforts of the Icelandic Association in Utah to promote cultural contact and the visits of the Icelan-

dic president to Utah. Appendix A lists the 410 immigrants before 1914. Appendix B is a translation of the first Icelandic missionary tract, *A Voice of Warning and Truth*, written by Bódur Didriksson and published in 1879. At 120 pages, it constitutes nearly a third of the book.

Fire on Ice was published as part of the sesquicentennial celebration in 2005 of the Icelandic emigration to Utah in 1855, which constitutes also the first Icelandic emigration to the United States. It is the first major effort to recount the history of the Mormonism in Iceland. It has substantial material gleaned from Icelandic archives as well as the archives of LDS Church. It also compiles significant materials pertaining to the twentieth-century LDS Church in Iceland and the effort spearheaded by President Spencer W. Kimball in the 1970s to bring reestablish the Church in Iceland.

As primarily a narrative account, it provides little historical context, analysis, or investigation of historical issues. It briefly describes the historical context of nineteenth-century but not twentieth-century Iceland. I would have liked to know why there was no missionary effort from 1914 to 1974. There was much curiosity among Icelanders about their relatives as noted by American Consul David Timmins in 1958. He was well received and an Icelandic Missionary District was apparently formed in 1960. Why did it take another fifteen years for a new missionary effort to be mounted?

The significance and impact of Byron and Melva Geslison, who served three times as a missionary couple in Iceland (1975–77, 1983–84, 1987–89) is well documented. Woods might have also noted that their calling to reestablish the Church in Iceland was part of a very important development in twentieth-century missionary work. In the 1970s, the role of missionary couples as Church representatives in locales where there were no other missionaries was greatly expanded. The Geslisons were an early and excellent example of this trend.

One assumes that the primary audience for the book is the Icelandic Mormon community, those who would be interested in experiences of their ancestors rather than in a more complete history. The result is an account almost entirely from the LDS perspective that at times becomes a panegyric. For example, Woods describes modern LDS history in Iceland: “Although the wheels of the Church would roll slowly in Iceland, the message of Mormonism would steadily go forth. And though the Latter-day Saints felt it was God’s decree that the good people of Iceland be given the opportunity to hear the fullness of His saving truths, it was the meek and humble who made it all happen. The Geslison family was the right tool at the right time for the job at hand” (134).

Probably because of the intended audience, the author assumes much on the reader’s part. The first proselytizing occurred in the Westmann Is-

lands, south of the main island of Iceland. It would appear nothing happened on the main island in the 1850s, but this fact is belatedly mentioned only in Chapter 3. The fact that early missionary work was an adjunct to emigration rather than establishing congregations abroad is evident but not stated. The servicemen's branch at Keflavik Air base is noted without any overall explanation of its role in Icelandic Church history.

The significance of the title is not stated though it can be guessed that Iceland is "the land of fire and ice." But the interposed "on," suggests without explanation that the "fire" is the gospel message and its impact on converts, while "ice" is the difficulty of preaching to an unbelieving world. The metaphor of struggling to preach in a hostile environment is common in the portrayal of Mormon missionary endeavors since the Church was founded.

The book contains many long quotations. To some degree, they disrupt the narrative with details extraneous to the point being made. I would have preferred a more extensive use of paraphrase and analysis to provide a quicker and more complete understanding of the topic.

Some substantive information in the notes would have done a service to the reader if it had been incorporated in the text, for instance, the fact that missionary work lapsed between 1857 and 1873 (chap. 3, note 12). Also in a footnote is the explanation of Jén Porgeirson wrote in the *Deseret News*, December 29, 1880: "The cause of this great persecution [including imprisonment] is that the Lutheran faith is universal in Iceland, and the Lutheran clergy have unlimited power there as there is no other sect in the whole country" (chap. 5, note 13).

There is much of interest in this book for descendants from Icelandic immigrants to Utah and to the student of twentieth-century Church history. Mormon readers will find a reaffirmation of their belief in the eventual triumph of the gospel message despite decades of seeming inaction. Other readers might find it a tedious account and get lost in the myriad of detail. Still, it is good to have the details available toward further consideration of the Church international outreach, including Iceland.

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S. Reed Murdock. *Joseph and Emma's Julia: The Other Twin*. Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 2004. xvi + 226 pp. Chronology, appendix, genealogy charts, notes, sixty-seven illustrations, one map. Cloth: \$19.95; ISBN:

1-890718-15-7

Reviewed by Linda King Newell

Julia Murdock Smith Dixon Middleton, the adopted (and only) daughter of Emma Hale Smith and Joseph Smith has received only passing reference in untold numbers of books that deal with the history of her parents or with the church her adopted father founded. S. Reed Murdock, who shares a lineage with Julia (she was a sister to his great-great-grandfather), has brought this shadow child into fuller light in his short biography of her. In doing so he has also given new insights into relationships within the Smiths' immediate family.

The preface includes genealogy charts of Julia's birth family (Murdock) and her adopted family (Smith), which serve as a good reference to the reader as the text introduces these people. Also included is a "Timetable of Important Events in Julia's Life." It is divided into two parallel columns representing important events of, first the Smith, then the Murdock families. This table is a valuable tool that allows the reader to check back for the relationship of events as they unfold in the text, but it could have been enhanced by including the day and month of these events rather than only the year.

In Chapter 1, the author lays out a series of question that outline the book's content. "Where did she [Julia] come from? What of her natural family? Who were they? What became of them? What was her relationship with her Smith siblings? What of Julia's marriages? Did she have children? Did she ever have contact with her natural family in Utah? And finally, what was Julia's personality and how did she deal with life's problems?" (2). With varying degrees of success, the remaining eleven chapters and epilogue attempt to answer these questions.

The book's forty-five-page appendix consists of the full text of the fourteen extant letters written by Julia to various members of her Murdock and Smith families, plus one from her first husband Elisha Dixon addressed to "Dear Sir," undoubtedly Julia's stepfather, Lewis Bidamon, who married Emma Hale Smith in 1847, three years after Joseph's death. These letters form a solid but narrow base for the author's meticulous research into Julia's adult life as evident in his prolific footnotes.

Although the book is well researched, the historical underpinnings of the narrative read more like a Sunday School manual than a professional history and at times stretch for dramatic effect. A case in point is the events leading to Joseph and Hyrum's deaths: "In 1844, the festering anger and conflict mushroomed, and the final straw was the establishment of a newspaper, *Nauvoo Expositor*, instigated by the Church's enemies. The sole purpose of the paper was to 'expose' Mormonism right under the nose of the Mormons in Nauvoo. The first issue on June 7, 1844, contained scurrilous

articles extremely offensive to Joseph” (61–62). Although this statement is correct as far as it goes, Murdock completely skirts the issue of plural marriage and the upheaval it caused in the community—much less the Smith family. One wonders if adolescent Julia could have escaped hearing the quarrels between her parents or the uproar the night Emma forced Eliza R. Snow (who had taught Julia and her brothers in school) from the house after discovering that this friend of many years, whom Emma had offered a place to live in the Smith home, was secretly married to Joseph.¹

The book is often as much about documenting the search as it is about Julia herself and therefore seems padded with trivia. For example, one entire chapter is devoted to the provenance of four images of Julia (three photographs and a portrait). Elsewhere, Murdock tells of discovering, through pure serendipity, Emma’s wool-carding tools in the possession of Gracia N. Jones, one of Emma’s great-great-granddaughters (24). Murdock argues that this simple object gives authenticity to the book’s cover painting by Lynde Madsen Mott, in which Emma is depicted showing Julia how to card wool. There is also a detailed description (167 and 173 note 1) of how a bed that once belonged to Julia (and was probably Emma’s gift) ended up in Billings, Montana.

The first five chapters sketch Julia’s sparsely documented childhood and extended family ties based on well-known stories. At Joseph Smith’s death in 1844, Julia had just turned thirteen. From that point on, the story focuses more closely on Julia herself, as her letters and the writings of family members begin to inform the story, fleshing it out with new or less well-known information.

In 1848 an “itinerant magician” named Elisha Dixon arrived in Nauvoo and stayed at the Mansion House, which Emma and Lewis Bidamon ran as a hotel. When the thirty-six-year-old Elisha and seventeen-year-old Julia fell in love, they did not expect parental approval of their relationship and eloped, hence the “Dear Sir” letter that the new groom wrote Bidamon. It is an attempt at reconciliation rather than seeking forgiveness: “I have taken Julia without liberty—(which I have bien led to believe would have bien refused if I had of asked it) I have marrid her and I shall endeavour to take good care of her.” He then expresses some surprise that Bidamon “being a man of the world and a good judge of human nature” did not foresee the union. “I have not done wrong,” he writes, then closes the letter, “As this is my first attempt on a subject of this kind I hope you will excuse my briefness We would be glad to hear from you direct your letter to St. Leawis” (219).

¹Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 134–35.

The couple eventually returned to Nauvoo and took over management of the Mansion House Hotel in early 1849, relieving Emma of some of the burden of feeding and housing travelers while Lewis was seeking gold in California. When Elisha's health could no longer endure the humid summers and cold, damp winters of Nauvoo, the Dixons moved to Galveston, Texas. Julia's marriage ended tragically in 1853 when Elisha was killed in a steamship explosion. They had been married five years and had no children.

Julia returned to Nauvoo where she tried, with some success, to capture the carefree days of her youth. Four letters written in 1855 to her adopted brother, Joseph III, reveal an active social life and are full of breezy town gossip. The name of John J. Middleton creeps in from time to time. A devout Catholic with anti-Mormon sentiments, he nonetheless courted Julia, and they were married November 19, 1856. A year later, Julia joined the Catholic Church. The couple bought a small farm outside Nauvoo where they lived for the next three years.

During this time Julia received a letter from her biological brother John Riggs Murdock. While his letter of July 1858 has not survived, Julia's answer has. This correspondence began Julia's adult contact with her birth family. John eventually visited her in Nauvoo and her biological father, John Murdock, wrote a heartfelt plea for her join them in Utah. She never did.

By late 1859, the financially struggling John Middleton sold their Illinois farm and moved to St. Louis, where he became a bookkeeper in a bank. Over the next few years, he changed jobs several times, partly due to outside forces, but also perhaps because he began drinking heavily. Julia suffered from frequent bouts of homesickness. Letters from this period include reminiscences to the family about growing up in Nauvoo. At other times, she spoke lovingly of individual Smith family members, revealing close emotional bonds. Julia seldom wrote about her personal struggles, but John sank so deeply into alcoholism that they had to sell everything they owned to make ends meet. They had no children. Finally, with just a few personal items and her feather bed, Julia left John and returned home to Nauvoo in 1876 at age forty-five.

Julia's last four years held much sorrow for her and the Smith family as they witnessed her brother David's mental decline and institutionalization in 1877. When Emma's health failed, Julia nursed her mother through her final days even though her own health was deteriorating as well. Emma died April 30, 1879—Julia's forty-eighth birthday.

Reed Murdock has gone to great lengths to visit all the places Julia lived and describes most of them, helping to put her life in a physical context: "The dusty lane leading to Julia's final earthly stop with the Moffitts is today—as it was then—lined with black-eyed Susans, asters, and golden rod. Tall trees form a spacious, shady canopy over the lane. A large heron lifts

from the grassy edges of the nearby stream and glides gracefully ahead as if to show the weary visitor the way. At the final turn of the lane, the undergrowth thins to reveal a gently sloping grassy hill to the left. At the brink of the hill sits a warm and attractive two-story home" (160–61).

Murdock also searched out the family of Julia's close friends James and Semantha Moffitt, in whose home Julia died of breast cancer on September 10, 1880, at age forty-nine. Julia is buried in the Moffitt family plot located in the St. Peter and Paul Cemetery in Nauvoo.

Joseph and Emma's Julia is a quick and interesting read. The new information about Julia and her role in both the Smith and Murdock families makes this volume historically valuable. If one enjoys the details of historical sleuthing, all the better, for Reed Murdock has included information about his personal search in also telling the story of Julia Murdock Smith Dixon Middleton.

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Dennis B. Horne. *Determining Doctrine: A Reference Guide for Evaluating Doctrinal Truth*. Roy, Utah: Eborn, 2005. Notes, selected bibliography, index, three appendices. 433 pp. Cloth: \$29.95; ISBN: 1-890718-22-X

Reviewed by Boyd Jay Petersen

Dennis Horne's *Determining Doctrine* is designed to be a "reference tool to help readers screen and evaluate the flood of doctrinally oriented teachings and writings that are available to Church members today" (vii). Horne states as his founding premise that "the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the only true and living Church on the face of the earth . . . and that consequently the fundamental doctrine found in the Church is the Lord's doctrine, given by Him to His personally chosen servants" (vii). The book provides statements from General Authorities and Church scholars that are designed to help readers "determine good doctrine" as well as provide information on related issues (vii).

With the exception of the first chapter's explanatory essay on publishing Church books, Horne, as compiler, attempts to let the "authorities" speak for themselves by leaving their words in standard print and inserting

his own commentary in italicized brackets. For readers of the *Journal of Mormon History*, the value of this compilation lies in the sources Horne quotes. They are primarily previously published but not always readily accessible books by Church leaders, conference reports, Church magazines, etc., and in some cases, primary historical sources like personal journals, transcripts of lectures, and newspaper articles.

In most cases his citations are sufficient and clear; quite often they refer not only to the well-known publication where the quotation is found but also to the original source. For example, a quotation from Joseph F. Smith not only includes the citation from *Gospel Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1939), a compilation of Smith's sermons, but also the original citation from *Conference Reports* (85).

Horne's quotations from private correspondence, though usually fresh information and valuable, will likely frustrate the historian. In most cases, Horne cites only the author of the letter and the year it was written (e.g., Bruce R. McConkie Correspondence, 1979). While Horne states that he left out the recipients' names because the detail "lends nothing to the determination of their doctrinal correctness" (xii), he nevertheless ignores the historian's need to access the original documents. Horne gives neither exact dates for the letters nor any indication of where they are located.

The book does, however, confront some of the difficult doctrinal issues within Mormonism. In Chapter 2, for example, Horne discusses the early Mormon debates about post-mortal progression between kingdoms (51–55); the Adam-God "theory" (61–68); the possibility of God's progression in knowledge (68–71); and, briefly, the Brigham Young-Orson Pratt controversy and the Joseph Smith-Pelatiah Brown incident (76–79).

However, Horne both soft-pedals the intensity of these debates and is selective in providing quotations. For example, in discussing the Adam-God controversy, Horne states that enemies of the Church "have to search with care to find mention of it here and there in the early sermons, but it was never pervasive, never presented for sustaining vote, never canonized, never officially approved. It is just not found in that many old records and discourses; in short, not very many people believed it and a case simply cannot be made that a prophet led the Church astray doctrinally" (61). Horne provides two "brief selected comments from Brigham Young" (67); however, they are not dealing with the Adam-God doctrine. In one Brigham Young tells his audience to believe the truth of his words and disregard the errors, and in the other Young stresses the personal relationship each person has with God. Neither of these quotations contradicts the Adam-God teaching.

Horne not only understates the extent to which Brigham Young taught the doctrine, but he further fails to note the forcefulness of Young's public statements, for example: "Now hear it, O inhabitants of the earth, Jew and Gen-

tile, Saint and sinner! When our father Adam came into the garden of Eden, he came into it with a celestial body, and brought Eve, one of his wives, with him. He helped to make and organize this world. He is Michael, the Archangel, the Ancient of Days, about whom holy men have written and spoken—He is our father and our God, and the only God with whom we have to do.”¹

On this subject, Horne quotes modern General Authorities like Mark E. Petersen, Joseph Fielding Smith, and Bruce R. McConkie, ignoring Orson Pratt’s persistent and well-reasoned objections to the doctrine. Furthermore, Horne repeats Mark E. Petersen’s chestnut that the Adam-God teaching was caused by “reporters at the Tabernacle in those days [who] were not so skilled as others, and admittedly made mistakes, such as the misquotation of President Young which was corrected by Brother Rich and has caused some persons in the Church to go astray” (66).²

Horne does a better job of allowing for doctrinal differences in his chapter dealing with evolution. Here Horne reproduces the material from a packet put together by Brigham Young University administrators and approved by the BYU Board of Trustees which was “to provide [BYU] students with statements giving the official position of the Church on that subject, as well as guidance in determining such official positions and statements” (187). In this chapter, Horne announces that he is not interested in “engag[ing] in debate or dispute about the past or current scientific thinking on the subject of organic evolution” (190). Instead he assembles quotations that address the need to abide by the First Presidency statements, included in the chapter, that the Church has no formal position on the topic. Horne nevertheless does include statements from anti-evolutionists like Joseph Fielding Smith and Bruce R. McConkie, as well as from more pro-evolutionists like David O. McKay and James E. Talmage. The Talmage material appears second-hand in a quotation by J. Reuben Clark.

While this book is aimed at the general reading public and provides readers with a wealth of sources on the various topics, the approach of glossing over and deemphasizing doctrinal disputes may have an effect that is the opposite of what Horne intends. When readers encounter the debates in another context, with more detail and more contradictions (and in the age of

¹Brigham Young, April 9, 1852, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855–86), 1:50–51.

²Mark E. Petersen, *Adam: Who Is He?* 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979), 16. Horne does, however, note Petersen’s first-edition error in which he claimed that Apostle Charles C. Rich was present at the conference where Brigham Young delivered his remarks and therefore had first-hand knowledge that Young did not teach the Adam-God doctrine as reported in the *Journal of Discourses*.

the internet, this becomes much more likely), they may feel betrayed by those, like Horne, whose sincere desire is to help.

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Roy A. Prete, ed. *Window of Faith: Latter-day Saint Perspectives on World History*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 2005. xix, 565 pp. Notes, index. Cloth: \$49.95; ISBN 0-8425-2610-2

Reviewed by Mark R. Woodward

This is a faith-affirming volume presenting LDS perspectives on a broad range of historical and theological issues. Most of the authors hold Ph.D.s from leading research universities: Duke, Stanford, Berkeley, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Columbia. Some are Brigham Young University faculty members. Generally speaking the articles are clearly written and refrain from using unnecessary academic jargon, making the volume accessible to a broad base of LDS readers. Most non-LDS readers will find many of them, especially those addressing theological topics or attempting to explain the place of historical developments such as the Protestant Reformation, totally opaque as they presume a sophisticated understand of Church teachings. References to American Indian people as Lamanites and unannotated references to the Angel Moroni are clear examples.

Such an approach raises serious questions concerning the degree to which the chapters can be considered history in the conventional sense of the term. In his preface, Roy Prete, who holds an M.A. from BYU and a Ph.D. in modern European and Canadian history from the University of Alberta, writes: "The thesis of the work is that God, working through human agents, has shaped world history for the accomplishment of His purposes" (ix). Properly speaking, this is not a thesis, but rather the assumption on which subsequent chapters are based. As is well known in the philosophy of science, it is impossible to prove one's guiding assumptions.¹ Furthermore, claims of this sort are inherently untestable and thus beyond the boundaries of science. In short, the work as entirety and the individual contributions are best understood as a sophisticated work of apologetics. They attempt to make sense of a

¹See Karl Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (1934; rpt., New York, Routledge, 2002).

broad range of phenomena in terms of LDS religious teachings.

Religious studies scholars can and should read this book as a religious chronicle in the same way that they read those of other religious traditions. This being said, many of the papers make meticulous use of a wide variety of, primarily LDS, sources. There is much to be learned from them about LDS interpretations of history and contemporary world events.

Part 1, "A Marvelous Work and a Wonder" is a faith-affirming interpretation of the relationship between the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and other Abrahamic faiths. All of these chapters assume a providential understanding of history and that earlier formulations of Abrahamic faiths prepared the way for the revelation granted to Prophet Joseph Smith. In this respect, the LDS understanding of the history of western religions closely resembles that of Islam, according to which Jesus, John the Baptist, Moses, Abraham, and other biblical figures were prophets in the same sense that Muhammad was.

Part 2, "Philosophical and Theological Underpinnings" is the most thoroughly theological. Among the questions it addresses are those of divine determinism and human agency, theodicy (why bad things happen to good people), and the nature of the comparative study of world religions. Roy Prete and Brian Q. Cannon, in separate chapters, emphasize continuing revelation as a means of understanding both the past and, equally important, the meaning of current events. Both are critical of secular historiographies and social sciences that emerged from the eighteenth-century enlightenment.

Cannon provides an articulate and detailed discussion of Christian (mainly Protestant) historiography. Both authors make the point that continuous revelation has the potential to resolve difficulties with previous "providential" historiographies. Cannon acknowledges that this methodology is "not recognized as valid beyond the Latter-day community" (155). For non-LDS scholars, the value of these chapters is that they explain clearly the LDS understanding of history.

Roger Keller's discussion of the LDS understanding of religious diversity is particularly informative. While he takes the view that "the fullness of the gospel exists nowhere but among Latter-day Saints" (216), he also states that elements of truth can be found in all religions. The information on other religions is generally accurate and his portrayal of them sympathetic. His accurate representation of the Islamic concept of jihad as *defensive* war and his explicit statement that it cannot be used to justify the tragic act of September 11, 2001, is a service not only to the LDS community but to all who search for inter-religious understanding in these troubled times.

Part 3, "Preparing the Way," presents an LDS theological interpretation of the history of western civilization from the Renaissance to the pres-

ent. All of the chapters in this section focus on the development of learning and of human freedom. One traces the development of the concept of freedom from classical Greece to the English and French Enlightenments. Three concern the Renaissance, Reformation, and European discovery of the Americas. Two focus on Britain and France, which are described as champions of freedom. Three concern colonial America and the United States with another on nineteenth-century technological developments. According to LDS sources, the United States was divinely chosen because here the gospel was restored.

Part 4, "To All the World," describes the contemporary world as an LDS mission field and the social and technological developments described in the preceding sections as elements of a divine plan for introducing the LDS faith to all of humanity. In his two chapters, Brian Cannon takes great pains to argue that the two World Wars were not willed by God but that he allowed them to happen so as not to deny human agency.

This theme runs through all of the chapters of this section. Malcolm Thorp presents an appreciative though critical discussion of the British historian Herbert Butterfield's understanding of the role of providence in history. Douglas Tobler attributes the demise of fascism and communism to a combination of human and divine intervention. He also notes that the collapse of communism opened new mission fields in Eastern Europe, again in accordance with God's plan (484). Robert Patterson and E. Dale LeBaron describe the worldwide growth of the Church after World War II, arguing that God has provided his servants with the means of achieving such phenomenal growth, and quote President Hinckley's statement that the growth of the Church is the "the work of God" in support of this position (511). Richard Cowan traces the growth of the Church from its earliest days to the present. He describes it as a progressively powerful response to "prophecy, both ancient and modern" (519), citing both Daniel 2:26–44 and Doctrine and Covenants 65:2.

As a whole *Window of Faith* has a triumphalist tone. It encourages LDS members to persevere in their efforts to live and spread the faith, certain in the knowledge that they are helping to bring God's plan to fruition. Non-LDS readers will not share this perspective but, from reading the work, will gain deeper insight into how the Church perceives and acts in the world of the twenty-first century.

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BOOK NOTICES

The *Journal of Mormon History* invites contributions to this department, particularly of privately published family histories, local histories, biographies, historical fiction, publications of limited circulation, or those in which historical Mormonism is dealt with as a part or minor theme.

Importantes Eventos en la Historia del Mormonismo en Mexico (pamphlet). Mexico City: El Museo de Historia de Mormonismo en México, A.C., 2003. 4 pp. 43 photographs. *Sixta Martínez*. Mexico City: El Museo de Historia de Mormonismo en México, A.C., 2002. 24 pp.

These two publications by the non-profit Museo de Historia de Mormonismo en México provide simultaneously both an overview of Mormonism in Mexico and a close-up of one faithful member. *Importantes Eventos* in 8½ x 11 inch format presents a compact timeline from 1840 to 2000 on heavy card stock.

This timeline runs horizontally across the page. Above it are numerous photographs with short captions—for example, an illustration of the *Brooklyn*. Below the timeline are, in chronological order, explanations of the significant events—for exam-

ple an explanation that the *Brooklyn*, carrying Mormon pioneers, reached Yerba Buena in California, then Mexican territory, on July 29, 1846. The text is in Spanish only, but a few photographed documents are in English, then translated. For example, a photograph of James Stewart's diary entry for April 20, 1876, records his hope: "I have reason to believe that much good can be done here," while the Spanish translation ("Tengo razón para pensar que aquí se puede hacer mucho bien") appears as the caption to his photograph.

The autobiography of Sixta Martínez is titled: "Faith of a Mayan Sister Rewarded: The Work in the House of the Lord." It consists of both English and Spanish texts bound together so that either can be read straight through from its respective cover (identical except for the words). Born January 18, 1912,

in Lerma in the state of Campeche to “pureblooded Mayan” parents who had been slaves, she describes being “disillusioned with my ancestral pagan beliefs” and feeling motivated to pray “for help in finding the true gospel” at the same time she pled for relief from persistent stomach pain.

When sister missionaries taught her son and daughter-in-law the discussions, Sister Martínez listened from behind a cardboard wall, experienced “inexplicable happiness” upon reading the Book of Mormon, and was baptized on April 21, 1974 (6–7). Eighteen members of her family joined the Church. She and her widowed daughter-in-law painfully saved funds, a few centavos at a time, so they could be sealed to her deceased son in the Mesa Arizona Temple. They were able to afford only two seats, so she, her daughter-in-law, and five children sat “three or four to a seat” during the six-day trip (10). She was ninety when the temple at Merida was dedicated, close enough that she could attend every Saturday.

Gene S. Jacobsen. *We Refused to Die: My Time as a Prisoner of War in Bataan and Japan, 1942-1945*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004. x, 273 pp. Photographs, maps. Cloth: \$24.95; ISBN 0-87480-806-5

Gene S. Jacobsen was a nineteen-year-old Latter-day Saint when he joined the Army Air Corps in 1940. This memoir is not Mormon history per se, but rather the history of a Mormon during World War II

in the Pacific Theater. This is not the first time that Jacobsen’s story has been told. In Dean Hughes’s popular historical fiction series, *The Children of the Promise*, a character was impermissibly based on Jacobsen. The Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals found that Deseret Book and Hughes had infringed Jacobsen’s copyright by copying his experiences verbatim. It is refreshing to see Jacobsen’s story told by himself and not through historical fiction.

In early 1942 the Japanese Army invaded the American-occupied area of Bataan, a peninsula in the Philippines near Manila. In the spring of 1942, the U.S. Army in Bataan surrendered, and U.S. soldiers were forced to march to prisoner camps 100 miles away in the Tarlac province of the Philippines. This event became known as the “Bataan death march” because of the numerous fatalities—an estimated 10,000 of the 75,000 U.S. and Filipino military personnel who began the trek.

One of the strengths of Jacobsen’s narrative is his description of the inhumane treatment: “They taunted us continuously and seemed to delight most when men fainted—and many did—from a combination of heat exhaustion, fatigue, hunger, and the lack of water. . . . The Japanese thought it was great fun to run a man through with a bayonet or shoot someone through the head. Both were common sights as we made slow progress toward our unknown destination” (86).

This book will be an interesting

read, not as Mormon history, but for World War II buffs and those who like world history through a Mormon lens.

William Clayton. *The Latter-Day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*. St. Louis: Chambers & Knapp, 1848. Rpt. Grantsville, Utah: Archive Publishers, 2001. 24 pp. Notes. Paper: \$2.95; ISBN 1-930679-04-1

Clayton, who is best known for writing "Come, Come Ye Saints," wrote one of the most important books used by the pioneers in the 1840s and '50s, *The Latter-Day Saints' Emigrants' Guide*. It is now available again in a facsimile reprint edition by Archive Publishers.

Clayton describes his intentions in preparing this work:

When the author first compiled the following work, it was not with a design to publish it, although well aware of the advantages which emigrants, traveling to the VALLEY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE, would continually realize by having it in their possession. However, there were so many who applied for copies of it—and the labor of writing a copy being considerable, as well as requiring much time—it was concluded to publish it in its present form, by which means it can be afforded at a price which will bring it within reach of any person wishing to have it. (3)

The work itself is less a narrative than a chart describing the distance from Winter Quarters. It also provides numerous facts and landmarks that travelers to the Salt Lake Valley

could look for. For example, 819 miles from Winter Quarters is the junction of the California and Oregon roads. Travelers at this point should "take the left road. Good road a few miles, afterward sandy and heavy" (17). There are many entries like this one.

Though this work would have little practical value today, it is invaluable to understanding the pioneers' experience as they crossed the plains to the Salt Lake Valley.

John Irvine. *The Edmunds Law: Unlawful Cohabitation as Defined by Chief Justice Chas. S. Zane of the Territory of Utah*. Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1885. Rpt. Grantsville, Utah: Archive Publishers, 1997. 118 pp. Paper: \$8.95; ISBN 1-930679-05-X

In 1885, John Irvine reported the case of Angus M. Cannon, then president of Salt Lake Stake, and his conviction for unlawful cohabitation (polygamy) under the Edmunds Law (1882). This report, originally published in 1885 contains much of the court discussion, direct and cross examination, and the verdict. This case is extremely important because it was viewed as a "test case" (4) in which many were expecting the court to define the term "cohabitation" (3).

One of the most interesting parts of the case is that definition. Cannon's lawyers pushed to require that the prosecution show that sexual intercourse occurred. However, the court disagreed:

If you believe from the evidence . . . that the defendant lived in the same house with Amanda Cannon and Clara C. Cannon, the women named in the indictment; that he ate at their respective tables one-third of the time, or thereabouts, and that he held them out to the world by his language or conduct, or by both, as his wives, you should find him guilty. It is not necessary that the evidence should show that the defendant and these women, or either of them, occupied the same bed with the defendant, or slept in the same room. Neither is it necessary that the evidence should show that within the times mentioned in the indictment he had sexual intercourse with either of them. (96)

Though the question of whether proof of sexual intercourse seems important in this type of case, it was not, because the Edmunds law specifically prohibited “cohabitation,” not intercourse. The assistant prosecuting attorney, Charles S. Varian, stated: “Adultery, and fornication—those peculiar sexual crimes as they are called—were well known, and well defined,” and not at issue in this case (17).

Though this is a report of a legal proceeding and uses legal terminology, it is still very readable for non-attorneys. It is a very interesting piece that shows what polygamous Mormons were put through and what defenses they used in trying to circumvent the anti-polygamy laws.

BYU Broadcasting. *Road to Zion: Travels in Church History*. Salt Lake City: BYU Broadcasting and Deseret Book, 2005. 2 hrs. 20 min.

DVD: \$19.95; ISBN 1-59038-455-5
Road to Zion brings together on DVD a five-episode series originally shown on the BYU channel. The purpose of these episodes is to “captivate those who have never been to Church history sites, those who are planning to go, and those who want to relive the experiences they’ve already enjoyed.”

Each episode on the DVD is approximately thirty minutes long and focuses on a specific area of Church history. The episodes are: “Cradle of the Restoration: Palmyra, New York”; “The Gathering Place: Kirtland”; “Seeking Zion: Missouri & Nauvoo”; “Farewell, Zion: Nauvoo & Iowa”; and “This Is the Right Place: Wyoming & Utah.”

Each episode is well done with beautiful cinematography and interesting narration. In terms of historical material, they contain nothing groundbreaking or new; but they do give a great overview of each period of early Mormon history. Each episode follows the same pattern by showing scenery around a specific Church history spot and then taking a tour of a particular building just as a visitor would.

For example, in the New York episode, the viewer “tours” the Joseph Smith home, the frame home, the Sacred Grove, the Hill Cumorah, the Grandin Press building, the Peter Whitmer farm, and Seneca Lake.

Young children may find it difficult to sit through thirty minutes of narration, but the target audience of older children, teens, and adults should find this DVD very

useful. Anyone planning a tour of Church sites, anyone who is not able to visit these sites, or someone wanting to relive the memories they made after visiting should find it enjoyable.

Ben Bridgstock. *The Joseph Smith Family*. Salt Lake City: Eborn Books, 2005. 362 pp. Bibliography, index. Cloth: \$24.95; ISBN: 1890-7181-9-X

Ben Bridgstock states in his introduction: "The material in this volume is simply a compilation of the most inspiring accounts gathered from a variety of books, articles, and talks. . . . It is not chronological or a complete history by any means." Bridgstock concludes that his readers should use his book as a "stepping stone to serious study."

True to his word, Bridgstock has compiled stories from known sources, primarily from the *History of the Church* and Lucy Mack Smith's *Biographical Sketches*—sources long familiar to those interested in Mormon history. The author does not use footnotes, but instead utilizes minimal in-text documentation. There is a significant amount of material for which he does not include documentation. Bridgstock also fails to incorporate more recent material that would have greatly strengthened his research for the book. For example, he fails to cite scholarly studies on the life of Alvin Smith by Richard L. Anderson or Larry C. Porter. He was also apparently unaware of Jeffrey S. O'Driscoll's recent *Hyrum Smith: A*

Life of Integrity, Lavina Fielding Anderson's *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Smith's Family Memoir*, or Kyle Walker's scholarly articles on Katharine Smith Salisbury in recent issues of *Mormon Historical Studies*. His unfamiliarity with previous publications is evident throughout the volume and, as a result, he perpetuates a number of errors, including incorrect dates for Sophronia's birth, Katharine's birth, marriage, and death (as well as that of her husband), and Lucy Mack Smith's death date. Additionally, he lists the siblings in incorrect birth order (Katharine is younger than William), and mislabels the Smiths' first child (deceased at or shortly after birth) as a daughter, when it was in reality a son.

Though Bridgman set out to spend a chapter on each Smith family member, the title of the book may be somewhat misleading. Nearly three-fourths of the book is devoted to material on Joseph Jr., Hyrum, and Emma Hale Smith. The Smith sisters average about four pages each. With the exception of the chapters on Hyrum and Joseph Jr., about fifty pages are divided among the seven other Smith siblings, while Emma's chapter is about the same number of pages (fifty) and rather lengthy chapters appear on more specialized subjects such as "Joseph & Hyrum's Final Days," and "Joseph Smith, in the Words of His Peers." In short, the book is less a treatment of the Smith family than a collection of well-known stories about Joseph,

Hyrum, and Emma Hale Smith.

Mary Jane Woodger. *David O. McKay: Beloved Prophet*. American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2004. xiv + 204 pp. Photographs, notes, chart of “ancestors and descendants,” and chronology. Paper: \$16.95; ISBN: 1-59156-779-3

David O. McKay, called as an apostle in 1905 at age thirty-two, became Church president in 1951. He was a General Authority for sixty-three years, surpassed in 2007 by Gordon B. Hinckley, and presided over the post-World War II expansion of missionary work and membership. When he died at age ninety-six, two thirds of the members had never known another president.

This book makes readily available to a new generation popular stories about this well-loved president, including his childhood faith, his search for a testimony, his mission in Scotland, his personal modeling of romantic monogamous marriage in his relationship with his wife, Emma Ray Riggs McKay, his emphasis on education, his world travels, and his near-universally recognized charisma.

In addition to published sources, Woodger has also drawn on a newly available manuscript collection of “personal correspondence and conference notebooks” at the University of Utah and the “McKay Scrapbooks,” compiled by his secretary, Clare Middlemiss, at the LDS

Church Archives. From these sources have come relatively unknown vignettes, including a quotation from McKay’s ordination as an apostle by President Joseph F. Smith, who promised him: “God our Heavenly Father . . . will enable you by the light of His Spirit to . . . understand with your whole heart the great and glorious truths of salvation and exaltation . . . that there may not be one shadow of doubt in your mind with regard to the divinity of these things, but on the contrary that your understanding may be enlarged, and that you [may] comprehend these things and see them as God our Father sees them, and that fear and doubt of any kind may not find place in your heart” (84; brackets Woodger’s).

Woodger explains “In some quotations the spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and grammar have been standardized. . . . While some readers may expect a fuller, more critical treatment of his life, I have attempted to select experiences that capture the personality, character, and ideals for which he is so lovingly remembered. . . . He was an idealist. In everything he did, he clearly aspired to ideals. His life and his personality became the ideal example to be followed for Church members in the twentieth century” (vi).

Many of the photographs are also relatively unknown. The book’s usefulness is limited by the lack of an index.

Claudia L. Bushman, ed. *Mormon*

Sisters: Women in Early Utah. 1976; rtd. with a new introduction by Anne Firor Scott, Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997. xlii, 297 pp. Illustrations, chronology, Reading List I, Reading List II, chapter notes, contributors' notes, index. Paper: \$17.95; ISBN 0-87421-233-2

This anthology of essays of Mormon women, produced by some of the Boston LDS women, joined by others, who also launched *Exponent II*, was the first wave of what has since become a deep river of research in Mormon women's history. As Claudia Bushman put it in her 1976 preface, "The authors feel that they have made history by making history" (xii).

She slightly expands some of the background on the project in her 1997 preface and muses, "Beginning again, we would certainly consider chapters dealing with less visible women and women at a greater distance from Salt Lake City. I think we might explore the worlds of the Native Americans, the Chicanas, and the Gentiles" (xiv). She also finds herself less inclined to "use words like heroism and sacrifice. . . . This is not a master race of foremothers set apart by their nobility; these are our own sisters. In their place, we would have done as well" (xiv).

Anne Firor Scott, a historian of women on the western frontier, comments in the introduction written for this edition that this anthology "represented the first stage of what has now become a massive historiographical achievement. . . . It is a puzzling fact that while historians

of Mormon women are thoroughly acquainted with the work of their colleagues in the dominant culture, few historians outside of Utah realize how much good work has been and is being done by Mormon historians" (xvii).

Dedicated to Leonard J. Arrington ("He takes us seriously"), the book consists of twelve essays: "Mystics and Healers" by Claudia Lauper Bushman, "Eliza R. Snow" by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Pioneer Midwives" by Chris Rigby Arrington, "Zion's Schoolmarms" by Jill C. Mulvay (now Derr), "Plural Wives" by Stephanie Smith Goodson, "Mormon Haters" by Carrel Hilton Sheldon, "Victims of the Conflict" by Nancy Tate Dredge, "Practical Politicians" by Heather Symmes Cannon, "Feminists" by Judith Rasmussen Dushku, "Susa Young Gates" by Carolyn W. D. Person, "Charitable Sisters" by Cheryll Lynn May, and "Fictional Sisters" by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich.

Helpful resource material includes a bibliography of Mormon novels, and the reading list accompanying the 1976 edition, supplemented by a second reading list of books since 1976. "A Century of Mormon Women: A Comparative Chronology," is a four-panel timeline that includes national events, women in the United States, LDS Church events, and women in the Church. The chronology ends with a list of general presidents of the Relief Society, Young Women, and Primary Association. The contributors' notes have been updated for the 1997 edition, and new photo-

graphs have replaced some of the former illustrations.

Carol Avery Forseth. *Gentile Girl: Living with the Latter-day Saints*. Fort Collins, Colo.: Crossroads Press, 2002. 176 pp. Notes, appendices. Paper: \$11.95; ISBN 0-9714782-0-1

When Carol Avery Forseth was seventeen, she made three life-changing decisions: she accepted Jesus as her Savior, joined the Baptist Church with her family, and was accepted at Brigham Young University where she spent the next two years in a generally friendly but religion-saturated environment.

This low-key memoir is a revision of her earlier *Faith under Fire: Living with the Latter-day Saints* (1989)—revised “because now I am (a) a better writer and (b) less of a know-it-all” (161). She does not give the years she attended BYU, but it was while Dallin H. Oaks was university president (1971–80) and while Spencer W. Kimball was Church president (1973–85). Because she describes the ban on ordaining black men to the priesthood as still in place, her stay apparently occurred before 1978—hence, ca. 1973–78.

While firmly rejecting Mormon theology, Forseth liked and was liked in turn by her Mormon roommates and classmates and generally interpreted their concern for her soul benignly: “My respect and affection grew for these devout, honorable Latter-day Saints” (89). She took the missionary discussions, accepted her

roommate’s challenge to pray about the truthfulness of the Church, and continued holding to her own beliefs. She was secretary, then president, of a small but energetic Baptist Student Union. She gave media interviews, sponsored a convention, and presented the Baptist counterpart of the missionary discussions to her roommates who agreed, reluctantly, that such reciprocity was fair.

The book includes a few negative incidents: a Nigerian friend was assaulted by a Tongan because he was not Mormon, and a Baptist friend almost decided to join the Church because he was weary of the pressure from his returned missionary roommates and wanted the lower tuition: “The Church is everything here. I’m tired of fighting it” (110).

The appendices give a list of doctrinal points on which Baptists and Mormons differ and suggests “What to Do about Your LDS Friends” (“The best gifts you can give your LDS friends are understanding and love,” 165). It also gives this explanation: “Latter-day Saints aren’t Saints because of the historical authenticity of their Scriptures. Typically, they don’t worry about what the Smithsonian Institution has said about the Book of Mormon. They don’t want to know every detail about Joseph Smith’s and Brigham Young’s personal lives. Mormons like what their Church has to offer and don’t want to listen to damaging information about it. As Apostle Boyd K. Packer said in a famous speech to Church

educators, "Some things that are true are not very useful" (166).

Mark L. McConkie, comp. *Remembering Joseph: Personal Recollections of Those Who Knew the Prophet Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003. xi, 529 pp. Photographs, "Biographical Registry," bibliography, index, and searchable companion CD-ROM. \$32.95; ISBN 1-57008-063-9

This book is mostly what the subtitle implies—a collection of stories, reminiscences, and quotations about (and sometimes by) Joseph Smith, divided into sections according to topic. A great many, however, are not "Personal Recollections of Those Who Knew the Prophet Joseph Smith," but rather third-person reports. Despite the book jacket's claim to be a biography, the book is instead a compilation with no narrative thread or analysis.

The compiler draws on more than 800 sources (and "thousands" more in the CD-ROM), some well-known, others obscure, and many delightful, such as Mary I. Horne's recollection of Joseph's telling her laughingly, "Sister Horne, if I had a wife as small as you, when trouble came I would put her in my pocket and run" (85).

The CD-ROM is arranged alphabetically by author and then chronologically rather than topically, with the quotations preceded by the editor/compiler's brief summary. (Readers who are aware of additional stories about Joseph are invited to add them at the special Deseret Book

website for this book.) Entries in the book, but not the CD, have had spelling, capitalization, grammar, punctuation, and paragraphing modified "to enhance readability" (ix). The bibliography includes material found in both the printed text and the CD.

In the introduction and first chapter, McConkie outlines his purpose and method: "The world must deal with the question of Joseph Smith. Was he a prophet? Did he see the Father and the Son? Was he commissioned of God? Is his testimony true? Did he receive priesthood and keys from John the Baptist, from Peter, James, and John, and from Moses, Elias, and Elijah? Has every truth and every power held by the ancient prophets and necessary for salvation been restored in our day? Is the Book of Mormon a revelation from God? Is it scripture, like unto the Bible?" (vii). He asserts that the "testimonies" in this collection contain the answers to these questions and that the "sheer weight of these testimonies demands a hearing" (vii). He describes those around Joseph as "a people who differed from their fellows because of what they carried in their hearts and in their souls. They saw truth where others were blind and felt things others could hardly imagine" (2).

Noting potential problems that arise because accounts may not be accurate or carefully recorded, or may be amplified or exaggerated, or may contain distorted perceptions or personal bias, McConkie addresses the question of how much

confidence can be placed in "the recollections of these faithful Saints" (14) and concludes that a reader who has "filled his mind with truth will instinctively resonate to the voice of truth. . . . Historical scholarship is important for it disciplines our thought, exposing us to alternatives and sometimes to better views. In the final analysis, however, it in no way compares to the simple expedient of filling one's mind with truth as a precursor to discerning truth. Students of the scriptures are always more discerning than those who do not study the scriptures" (15).

Deliberately excluded from the collection are "accounts which we know to be historically inaccurate, false, or maliciously prejudicial" (x). Still, Joseph is not uniformly remembered in a positive light. The first entry, a third-person recollection from a "Mrs. Palmer," describes Joseph as being a fine young boy "before he was led away by superstition" (28), and many quotations are from voices other than "faithful Saints," such as the Illinois Democratic press and Josiah Quincy.

The five remaining chapters are topical, dealing with "The Character and Personality of the Prophet Joseph Smith," "The Gifts of the Spirit," "Joseph Smith and the Scriptures," "The Ordinances and the Church," and "Historical Items." This latter chapter is straightforwardly chronological: Vermont, Palmyra, Kirtland, Missouri, and Nauvoo.

"Joseph Smith and the Scriptures" likewise has four sections, one for each of the standard works, plus

one on "Writing Scriptures" (the coming forth of the Book of Mormon). "The Ordinances and the Church" chapter has a section on priesthood and ordinances and one on Church organization and structure. "Gifts of the Spirit" consists of more than twenty subgroups such as "The Gift of Faith," "Inspired Dreams," "Preaching," "Revelation," "Obedience," "The Gift of Forgiveness," and "Loyalty to Zion."

These four chapters can usually be skimmed through rather easily to find a desired section. But "The Character and Personality of the Prophet Joseph Smith" is confusing and unwieldy, besides being more than eighty pages long. The seven subgroups are: "Joseph in His Youth" (with only one entry, that of the aforementioned "Mrs. Palmer"), "General Descriptions of Joseph," "General Character Descriptions," "Specific Characteristics of the Prophet" (further subdivided, alphabetically, into twenty-three sections), "The Prophetic Character of Joseph Smith" (with thirteen subdivisions), "Some Political Sentiments and Insights," and "First Meetings with Joseph Smith."

The difference between "General Descriptions" and "General Character Descriptions" appears to be that the former contains mostly physical descriptions. It would have been clearer to have labeled the section as such. In the subgroup of "Specific Characteristics," the labels of the twenty-three subsections challenge the reader to get inside the compiler's mind to find the desired topic. A few are fairly straight-

forward: "Courageous," "Grateful," "Honest," "Humble," "Industrious." But what are we to make of headings such as "Attentive to Temporal Concerns," "Quick to Bless Others," or "Mentally Quick and Alert"?

The thirteen subsections of "The Prophetic Character of Joseph Smith" also lack straightforward labels (e.g., "Like Unto Other Men" and "Tested the Faith of the Saints"). A number of headings contain only one entry each (e.g., "Counsel Was Prophetic and Inspired," "Introspective and Humble," "Pious and Devout," "Powerful in Testimony," "Prophetic Promises," "Restraint in Prophetic Office," and "Righteous Indignation").

The same problem is also present in the "Specific Characteristics" section. "Corrected Others" (a subheading of "Prophetic Character") describes Joseph stopping street fights and telling a young boy not to make noise playing in the street. Two entries under "Settings Apart" recount Joseph's blessing women and setting them apart as midwives. However, a third instance of his setting apart another midwife appears in "Priesthood Blessings." In short, perhaps a more thoughtful grouping would have produced a more felicitous organizational result.

The book is marred by a number of documentation problems. It is often impossible to discover either when an event took place or when it was originally recorded, either from the notation with the text or from the bibliography. What is given instead is the publication date of the secondary source from which the story was

taken. Also, notations of the secondary sources are sometimes inconsistent. For example, the two "Setting Apart" entries about midwives referred to above were both taken from Kate Carter's multivolume work, *Our Pioneer Heritage*. The bibliography provides the volume and page number for one of the entries but not the other, although the notation provided in the main text with each entry includes this information for each.

It is sometimes unclear who is speaking. John Smith's entry begins, "He was twelve years of age at the time his father and Joseph the Prophet were martyred" (36). The source is listed only as *Collected Discourses*.

Similarly, the Selected Biographical Registry is marred by inconsistencies. Joseph Smith III, whose memories of his father are combined in one four-page account, is omitted, while "Mrs. Palmer" is included, although she has no known birth date or death date and the only information about her is that she lived in the Palmyra area and possibly Monroe in Sevier County. There are also errors within the biographical sketches. President Joseph F. Smith is listed as being born in 1838 and set apart as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve in 1868 at age "28."

Edward H. Anderson. *The Life of Brigham Young*. Salt Lake City: Geo. Q. Cannon & Sons, 1893; photographic reproduction, Grantsville, UT: LDS Archive Publishers, 1997.

vii, 177 pp. Notes, catalog of Cannon publications in 1893 plus LDS Archive Publisher's list. Paper: \$10.95; ISBN: 1-930679-01-7

This work makes available at a modest cost the original popular biography published three years after the Manifesto and three years before statehood of Utah's most significant religious leader. The first two sections recount Brigham Young's life in chronological order: his youth, conversion, participation in Zion's Camp, ordination as an apostle, mission to Great Britain, succession to the presidency, leadership in the exodus, travel with the vanguard company to Salt Lake Valley, return to Winter Quarters and the reconstitution of the First Presidency, and return to Utah where he oversaw colonization.

This latter section is more a history of Utah than strictly a biography. The chapter on the Utah War makes no mention of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and polygamy is not mentioned until the Utah period: "The practice of polygamy among the Mormons was not generally made known until the year 1852 . . . [but] was long before this time practiced by the Saints, in Nauvoo, Winter Quarters and in Utah. . . . It became the leading question for contention between the officers of the government and the Mormons until the practice was finally suspended by a manifesto of President Wilford Woodruff . . . and the doctrine is now neither taught nor practiced. Whatever may be said on the subject, Brigham Young was a firm believer in the doctrine and, as in other mat-

ters, showed his faith by his works. To him its practice was a duty which he felt as incumbent upon him as any other of the teachings or revelations of the Prophet Joseph" (119).

Anderson followed the lead of Young himself in giving the number of his wives as seventeen (170). Actually, he had fifty-five, as documented by Jeffery O. Johnson, "Determining and Defining 'Wife': The Brigham Young Households," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Autumn 1987): 57-70.

Anderson, in describing Young's leadership, notes that "he encouraged the people to work and be happy, and resign themselves to the will of God. He urged them to plant and sow and to be just as satisfied if they raised nothing as if they raised an abundance. This course, he said, would reconcile them to the providences of the Almighty, and in this they would find happiness, even in severest adversity" (123).

Anderson devotes special indignation to Young's imprisonment for a single day in 1873 for polygamy and states that, by Judge McKean's haste to grant alimony to Ann Eliza Webb, he thereby "acknowledged a polygamous marriage as legal." When U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant replaced McKean, Anderson records with open satisfaction that he was "removed because of his fanatical and extreme conduct and because of several acts . . . considered ill-advised, tyrannical, and in excess of his power as Judge. Thus sank Judge McKean never to rise again, except to be tested in the memory of a people

for whom he harbored a deadly hate” (165).

Although Anderson does not provide citations for most episodes, documents, and conversations as a modern historian would, he occasionally provides a reference to a reprinted source (e.g., Thomas L. Kane’s essay about visiting the deserted city of Nauvoo) or explains who an individual is.

Andrea Moore-Emmett. *God’s Brothel*. San Francisco: Pince-Nez Press, 2004. 234 pp. Map of Mormon and Christian fundamentalist polygamists in North America. Foreword by Michael Kopveld, executive director, Info-cult (Resource Centre on Cultic Thinking), Montreal, Canada. Paper: \$16.95; ISBN 9-781930-074132

God’s Brothel (the title is not a quotation and is explained nowhere in the book) grew out of the activities of Tapestry Against Polygamy, organized in March 1998 to help women who want to leave polygamy, to educate the public, and to lobby for new laws (15). Andrea Moore-Emmett acknowledges that individuals may “contract verbally” for “a variety of sexual encounters and living arrangements.” She is not writing about these situations nor encouraging government intrusions into them but rather focusing on “polygamy dictated within a Biblical-based context used to control women and children, usually originating with the Mormon Church and continuing into the present by Mormon fundamentalist polyga-

mists and, more recently, by Christian polygamist groups and individuals” (18).

She denounces those who “nostalgically romanticize” nineteenth-century polygamy “as an early feminist movement” (24), estimates the polygamous population as closer to 100,000 than the usually cited 30,000 (26), gives brief sketches of eleven “main” groups that have been in existence more than five years (27–29), describes the “legal maze” surrounding the status of the practice, and characterizes women and children in polygamy as “a form of currency” (49).

The first part of the book, “Contemporary Polygamy in America,” discusses the history of polygamy and describes contemporary Mormon and Christian-based polygamy. The second part, “Women Who Escaped,” consists of eighteen first-person accounts from women identified by their full names, though sometimes others in their accounts have been assigned pseudonyms. Six of the eighteen are associated with Tapestry Against Polygamy.

One former plural wife made a poster of her husband’s motto, “Do not voice your opinion if it is contrary to mine” and hung it on her wall as a reminder to be “meek and obedient.” When she became so depressed that she had episodes of not remembering her name or finding that she had driven somewhere with no memory of how she got there, her husband explained that she was “possessed, and he and other polygamous men would attempt to cast

out the demons from her" (59).

Because marriages between close relatives and lack of proper medical attention characterize the Kingston group, birth defects are not uncommon; but Kingston leaders blame the mothers of these infants as "not sufficiently submissive to their husbands or faithful to the church" (68). Other women report that they were routinely molested by older brothers and half-brothers, limited in their education (one woman reports being home-schooled by women whose own home-schooling had ended when they turned thirteen [179]), given little or no control over where they lived (frequently in substandard housing), being frequently incested by their fathers, being forced to go "dumpster diving" behind markets and restaurants for food, being forced to work only to have their husbands confiscate their checks, and often being married in their early to mid-teens and later being compelled to accept new wives of the same age in the family. In some families, the women also sexually and physically abused the children.

"Much is said about many women in polygamy . . . who willingly choose to live as plural wives and who are very happy," writes Moore-Emmett. While she does not claim that such situations are impossible, she argues: "There can be no consent when girls are born into polygamy and, though isolation and limited education, do not know of any other choices. There can be no consent when women are recruited and go through the conversion process without understanding how

mind-control takes place physically and mentally" (40).

The book has no notes or bibliography but the acknowledgments suggest that the reader who wants more depth should consult Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989). She apparently does not cite the third edition, published in 1994.

The book includes a glossary of terms. For example: "Fundamentalism: In this context . . . a movement stressing an active, uncompromising adherence to the basic principles and early beliefs of the Mormon Church" (224), and "Rescue Me Program: In the TLC religion, a woman who wants to leave a husband and family must go through the priesthood leader . . . for a release from the marriage so she can be remarried" (229).

Mike Oborn. *Ghost between Us*. Bellevue, Wash.: August Ink Publishing, 2003. 240 pp. Paper: \$12.95; ISBN: 0-941111-0-6

The protagonist of this novel, Matt, before he is divorced from a Salt Lake stake president's daughter, has spent countless hours in the LDS Church Archives. Taking his research with him, he disappears into the glitzy world of Las Vegas where he devotes serious effort to becoming an alcoholic, then drifts east until he lands in Resurrection Corner. This New York village has a colorful cast of characters, including Harley-riding James J., a recovering alco-

holic, who owns the local bar where the nightly Alcoholics Anonymous meetings are held and, more to the point, Kate, the warm-hearted embodiment of community spirit and wholesome love.

Under Kate's influence, Matt writes a "historical romance" of Joseph Smith's life which his awed agent says will make the Prophet "believable now" and help potential converts "find it easier to be a Mormon" (116). Matt thinks that "my book would hit like napalm, expose acres of fraud. . . . I wrote a book about a man creating his life" (79). He also claims, "I'm the only person alive outside the Church Archives [who] can verify that Smith married at least forty-six times" (112).

However, the historical material seldom becomes more detailed than these assertions, and the fact that the novel is about Joseph Smith is only a device to launch the plot. A never-disbanded Council of Fifty and associated businessmen who are keeping things smooth for the Winter Olympics (they include Matt's former father-in-law) make an attempt to buy the book so they can suppress it. His father-in-law "calls" a simple-minded giant who considers himself to be the embodiment of Porter Rockwell to take care of Matt (he kidnaps Matt and forcibly readdicts him to alcohol) and also kidnaps Kate, who, he is convinced, will be sealed to him in the temple. With the aid of a Harley gang whom James J. has turned into sponsors of a battered women's shelter, Kate is rescued and Matt's novel becomes a best-seller. Matt's description of his background growing up in

the Church contains cultural material typical of American Mormonism during the last half of the twentieth century.

The proofreading was annoyingly bad with at least two or three punctuation or spelling errors per page and frequent homonym substitutions (car "fair" for "fare"), but the writing has energy and verve: "Las Vegas, Nevada, is a city bordered on the east by a state of religion, populated initially by polygamists, and on the west by Hollywood make-believe, with the movies and Walt Disney. Sandwiched in the middle you have what else but legal gambling and prostitution. Some things just make good sense" (34).

Richard and Pamela Price. *Joseph Smith Fought Polygamy: How Men Nearest the Prophet Attached Polygamy to His Name in Order to Justify Their Own Polygamous Crimes*, Volume 1. Independence: Price Publishing Company, 2000. x, 261 pp. Illustrations, maps, references, index. Cloth: \$16.00; ISBN 1-891353-06-3. Available at www.restorationbookstore.org.

The title of this book pretty much says it all. The Prices, outspoken critics of what they see as liberalizing trends in the Community of Christ (formerly RLDS Church), present evidence for their thesis that Joseph Smith never taught plural marriage (the position of the RLDS Church for more than a hundred years), despite the scholarly consensus that he did. The real culprit(s), according to the

Prices, were Brigham Young and his fellow Twelve Apostles, who, the Prices suggest, latched onto the practice during missionary forays among the Cochranites in Maine in the 1830s.

Perhaps the Prices' most compelling evidence for Joseph Smith's innocence comes from Smith himself, who repeatedly stressed during his lifetime that he never practiced, let alone advocated, plural marriage. The Prophet's tortuous denials have long been problematic for members of the Utah-based LDS Church, who firmly assert that Smith originated the practice of plural marriage. Instead, the Prices point to the libertinism of Smith's confidante John C. Bennett and his acolytes Francis and Chauncey Higbee. One of the Prices' more interesting, if speculative, claims concerns Bennett's possible sexual relationship with Eliza R. Snow (see Chap. 8; Snow is also the subject of Chaps. 9 and 10).

The Prices' single most important contribution to the history of Mormon polygamy, however, may be their reproduction of several court papers—apparently now lost—documenting Joseph Smith's slander suit against Chauncey Higbee, which Smith ultimately dropped (chap. 13). The Prices' work reads like a lawyer's brief and not as a balanced historical treatment of the topic. They seem to be more interested in proving a case than in objectivity. That said, for anyone interested in early Mormon polygamy, and especially for arguments against the Prophet's involvement, their book is necessary reading.

They announce successive volumes as forthcoming.

Deanna Draper Buck. *My First Church History Stories*. Illustrations by Jerry Harston and Leslie Harston. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999. 36 pp. Board book: \$13.95. ISBN 1-57345-475-3

Each double-spread, lavishly illustrated with three or four full-color drawings, tells the most familiar episodes from the pageant of Mormon history. The page titles read: "Joseph Smith and the First Vision," "The Angel Moroni and the Book of Mormon," "The Priesthood," "The Church Is Organized," "The Kirtland Temple," "The Gathering," "Persecution," "The Martyrdom," "Brigham Young," "Leaving Nauvoo," "The Pioneers," "A New Home in the Desert," "The Miracle of the Seagulls," and "Indian Friends" ("Brigham Young taught the Saints that we are all children of Heavenly Father. He told the people to feed the Indians and to help them—not fight them"). The post-Brigham Young period consists of three panels: "Tithing" (preached by Lorenzo Snow), "Temples" ("There are many temples in many lands all around the world"), and "The Modern Church."

Four of the episodes focus on the experiences of children or youth: "The Courage of Two Young Girls" tells how sisters Caroline and Mary Elizabeth Rollins rescued unbound pages from the Book of Commandments when "a mob of

angry men” attacked the printing office and successfully hid in a cornfield from their pursuers. Another is “A Miracle of Healing,” the regenerated hip cartilage of Alma Smith, one of the Haun’s Mill victims. “He didn’t even have a limp.” A third commemorates the activities of Nauvoo’s “Whittling, Whistling Brigade” as they followed “enemies of the Church” around town. (These “enemies” are depicted in fringed buckskins. One wears a bear-claw necklace; the other carries a long musket.) The fourth, “Pioneer Children,” features “Marie and Andrew” (no surname) who walked across the plains with their grandfather while their mother (no husband mentioned) drove the ox team.

James E. Faust. *Stories from My Life*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2001. 149 pp. Sources, index. Cloth: \$15.95; ISBN: 1-57345-968-2

Although this book is not an autobiography, it contains personal anecdotes or the experiences of others whom James E. Faust was in a position to know about. All are reprinted from conference talks, articles in Church publications, or addresses in other venues, usually Brigham Young University. The purpose of the collection, as he explains in a brief preface, is “to help illustrate various principles of the gospel . . . that the readers’ faith, understanding, and commitment might be strengthened” (iv).

The title and a concluding paragraph for each vignette underscores the lesson to be learned from the

story. For example, Chapter 47, “Rich in the Things That Matter,” recounts Faust’s visit as a missionary in Brazil to a poor Mormon widow who lived in a “humble home” with a “dirt floor” but who worked hard and earned enough “to satisfy her simple wants” and who had an impressive knowledge of the plan of salvation. “She was not poor in spirit,” he concludes. “She was rich in the things that really matter” (108–9).

Other anecdotes recount experiences from his own financially straitened childhood, service in the armed forces, mission, and various Church assignments. He recalled at length a Christmas “with No Presents” which he and his family spent with his grandparents in Millard County:

Grandfather and Uncle Esdras met us at the railroad crossing . . . with a team of big horses to pull the open sleigh through the deep snow to Oak City. It was so cold that the huge horses had icy chin whiskers and you could see their breath. . . .

In the corner of living room was the Christmas tree—a cedar cut from the hillside pasture. It was already partially decorated by Mother Nature with little berries that helped give it a strong smell. Our decorations were popcorn strings made by threading popcorn through a needle and a thread which had to be handled carefully or they would break and strew popcorn all over the floor.

We also had paper chains to put on the tree, made by cutting up old Sears and Montgomery

Ward catalogs with the paper links pasted together with flour paste. The sticky flour paste got all over our hands, faces, and clothes. I wonder why they didn't put sugar in it! With cream it could also have been served for mush. (70–71)

Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, ed. *The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith III (1832-1914)*. Independence: Price Publishing Company, 2001 (www.restorationbookstore.org). Portraits, 507 pp. Index. Cloth: \$21.50; ISBN: 1-891353-07-1

The detailed, candid, and lucidly recorded memories of Joseph Smith III (the oldest son of Joseph Smith Jr. and Emma Hale Smith and the first president/prophet of the Reorganized Church of Joseph Smith of Latter Day Saints) have long been a treasured historical resource. Price Publishing, which has undertaken an energetic program of publications arguing against the liberal direction taken by the RLDS Church/Community of Christ in recent years, including its ordination of women, includes the reprinting of valued and classic works.

These memories were published serially in the *Saints' Herald* from November 6, 1934, through July 31, 1937. RLDS Church Historian Richard P. Howard brought out a paperback edition of the memoirs (Independence: Herald House, 1979 [misdated in Price as 1959]), but it is no longer in print. Thus, this republication, also in three-column,

8½x11" format makes readily available again an important work. It notes on the copyright page that the original material in the *Saints' Herald* was "never under copyright and may be reproduced without permission."

Joseph Smith III dictated these memoirs originally to his son and eventual successor, Israel A. Smith, which may have influenced the kindly, moderate, and personal tone of many entries. His long life spanned eighty-two years, fifty-four of them as Church president. In addition to the memoir itself (1–471), the publishers have included a new index which, though skimpy, greatly enhances its usefulness for researchers. This volume also includes "Concerning My Father's Memoirs," by Mary Audentia Smith Anderson (473), "My Father's Last Years," by Israel A. Smith (474–75, 479), "In Remembrance," by Belle Robinson James (476–77, 479), and "Concerning Joseph Smith's Memoirs," by Frederick M. Smith (478–79). These documents, in addition to containing descriptions of the source documents which served as aide-memoirs during the dictation, also contain warm personal memories of Joseph III himself.

The *Memoirs* are a gold mine of information about events and personalities in early Mormonism and in the Reorganization and also provide a vivid introduction to the man who, as his son Israel noted, "never, so far as I recall, ever stated anything to me or have I ever seen anything written by him which ever reflected anything but modesty and

humility" (474). In one notable passage, Joseph III reflected on the ways in which inspiration came to him:

I have heard an audible voice speaking to me. At times I have seen the words of the communicated message spread clearly before my spiritual vision. I have been commanded to write, and the words flowed almost without volition from my pen in response to Divine will. Once I saw important changes in the quorums of the church as they were spread before my sight like a panorama, certain brethren occupying in certain groupings.

The variety of forms in which these revelations have come to me assures me that God is ever alert to use as the vehicle of his communication the means closest at hand and most effective at the time. I have come to place my trust completely in the psychic manifestations which have been impressed as truth upon my intelligence after having placed myself, by humility, prayer, and consecration, wholly in God's hands when the necessities of his church have required guidance. (300–301)

Lisa J. Peck. *Jennette Eveline Evans McKay*. Mothers of the Prophets Series. Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 2005. 118 pp. Notes, bibliography. Cloth: \$14.99; ISBN: 1-55517-877-4

David O. McKay's mother, Jennette, was born in Wales in 1850 and died in Huntsville, Utah, in 1905, the year before her son was

called to the Quorum of the Twelve. This fictionalized autobiography recounts her birth and girlhood in Wales, the deaths of three siblings, the family's conversion, and their emigration to the United States in 1856. Because her father decided to earn enough money for supplies before continuing on to Utah, they missed the ordeal endured by the Willie and Martin handcart companies that set out in the same summer.

After the family's settlement in Ogden, Jennette met and married David McKay, a Scots, who is twice identified as "David Oman McKay." Although "Oman" was David McKay's mother's maiden name, no other McKay biography assigns it to him as a middle name. Thus, this identification is either the correction of a long-standing error or (more probably) the introduction of one. The rest of the book recounts well-known family history: the deaths of the two older daughters, Jennette's successful management of home and farm while her husband served a mission, and her determination that the children be educated.

Peck includes notes for direct quotations or notations of fact, usually from David O. McKay's later writings, leaving the reader to conclude that quotations without footnotes are her own creation. For example, she footnotes the statement that David Sr. "often commented [how] my long, straight hair that I parted and tied in a bun at the nape of my neck was beautiful," but despite the bracketed insertion of "how," it has no quotation marks.

Peck then follows it with the sentence, without a note, "Over and over again, he said, 'I love your hair'" (29).

While this method seems relatively clear and straightforward, Peck also apparently creates whole episodes, such as a "tall dark Indian" who "crept into my cabin" and announced "with a thick accent, 'You be my squaw!'" (46).

There are elaborate chapter epigraphs: sonnets by Donne and Shakespeare, quotations from Emerson, an extended quotation from Tennyson's "The Lady of the Shalott," etc. Other quotations, usually by David O. McKay, praise Jennette personally or motherhood in general.

The book would have benefited from closer editing and proofreading since frequent grammatical and typographical errors mar it: "to ask advise," "looked after we children," "allowed this dashing man and I the privilege," "enough steam to across the United States," "our second child fell ail," etc. Anachronistic expressions ("a Zion people") and Scots dialect ("bonny," "aye," "wee") attributed to Welch speakers also appear.

Mary Jane Woodger. *Heart Petals: The Personal Correspondence of David Oman McKay to Emma Ray McKay*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005. xvi, 200 pp. Illustrations, notes, chronology, index. Cloth: \$21.95; ISBN: 0-87480-828-5

This collection of letters from David O. McKay, ninth president of the LDS Church, to his wife, Emma

Ray Riggs McKay, is, as editor Mary Jane Woodger puts it, "the first time that a collection of letters written by a General Authority to his wife has been published" and "possibly the most extensive and complete" collection of personal correspondence available penned by any General Authority (xii). They are, preeminently, love letters, preserved by Sister McKay, although her half of the correspondence did not survive. Still, they capture an example of married, romantic monogamy that was a decided break from the Victorianism of Mormonism's polygamous past.

These "heart petals" (McKay's own term for them) appear in a range of styles. Here is an example of the formally polished:

True love is like all truth; the more one gives the more one has. Six years ago, as I told you yesterday, I thought my love for you was all my heart[.] [T]o-day . . . I wonder that I thought it full. To-day I think my soul is filled, and it is and yet forty-four years hence, it must be stronger and purer still. This simply means, as our experience proves, that Love feeds and grows on Love, and while it grows, it increases the capacity of the soul for loving. So our love was perfect when I kissed you at the altar; it is perfect to-day; it will be perfect when the century strikes "half past"; it will be perfect eternally! (53-54)

Another "heart petal" is cozily domestic: "I am glad that I do miss you; for wouldn't it be miserable to be married to one from whom it

would be a relief to get away! The whole point of this is that you and I must scheme some way to take these long trips to-gether" (108).

The last of these affectionate appreciations was written for Sister McKay on McKay's own ninetieth birthday (136).

The editor's introduction gives an overview of McKay's life and also explains her editorial guidelines of maintaining "McKay's words, word order, grammar, unique spellings, sentences, and punctuation with few exceptions" (xiv).

The letters begin on July 1, 1897, with McKay's invitation to Ray to attend his farewell party before departing on his mission to Scotland. There is a gap in the letters between December 1901 and June 1906, except for birthday/anniversary letters and those written while he was traveling with his apostolic assignments. During his tour of world missions in 1920-21, he wrote faithfully. Another break comes while he was serving as president of the European mission during 1922-25, since his family joined him there. The originals are now in Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, and the collection ends in 1932. Helpful and thorough endnotes identify individuals, places, and events mentioned in the letters.

Hugh J. Cannon. *David O. McKay: Around the World, An Apostolic Mission, Prelude to Church Globalization*. Provo, Utah: Spring Creek Book, 2005. 242 pp. Preface, maps, chronology, illustrations, appendices,

"A Son's Tribute to the Author," and name index. Paper: \$16.95; ISBN: 1-932898- 46-8

In 1920-21, David O. McKay, then a forty-seven-year-old apostle, accepted the assignment from Church President Heber J. Grant to tour the LDS Church's missions in a route that circumnavigated the globe. His companion was fifty-year-old Hugh Jenne Cannon, a son of George Q. Cannon, a member of the Sunday School General Board (1896-1924), president of the German and Swiss-German Missions (1901-05 and 1925-28), and president of Liberty Stake from 1904 (while he was still in Germany) until 1925 (229-32). Their lengthy and arduous journey was accomplished entirely by boat except for occasional shorter trips within countries by train. (Both of them were susceptible to seasickness, McKay more than Cannon.)

This manuscript, based on Cannon's daily diary and the series of letters he sent back to the *Deseret News*, was written as a popular and faith-promoting narrative before his death in 1931 but was lost from sight when "unfortunately, the publisher misplaced it, and it was not found for many years" (xiv). The children of Hugh Cannon and Sarah Richards Cannon—George Richards Cannon, Alice Cannon Hicken, Max R. Cannon, and Dean R. Cannon—saw the work to publication during 2005, a year when President McKay's teachings were being studied by LDS Relief Societies and Melchizedek Priesthood quorums.

The twenty-five chapters begin

with Hugh Cannon's invitation to the reader to accompany them on their "trip around the world, . . . the first of its kind ever undertaken" (1-2). They left Salt Lake City for Seattle, then visited Japan, Korea, China, and Hawaii. Because of problems with scheduling shipping, the two then returned to San Francisco, where they delayed going to the South Pacific to attend the funeral of Anthon H. Lund in Salt Lake City. They then visited Tahiti, Rarotonga, New Zealand, Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Australia, Java, Singapore, Rangoon, India, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and the European missions. (McKay's oldest son, David Lawrence McKay, was then serving a mission in Switzerland.)

They concluded their trip in England, from which they sailed for the United States, arriving in time for Christmas 1921. Cannon summarized: "During this trip which required 366 days, the missionaries traveled on 24 oceangoing vessels. They spent the equal of 153 days on the water, traveled a total of 61,646 miles not counting trips made by auto, streetcars, tugs, ferryboats, horseback, camels, etc. Of the miles traveled, 23,777 were by land and 7,669 were by water" (204).

The narrative stresses the exoticism of foreign lands, customs, and people—a staple of travel literature at a time when few could travel and when books and magazine articles were virtually the only way to learn about other countries. Other recurrent themes are the loyalty and effectiveness of the missionaries, the love and commitment of the members,

and the numerous providential occurrences that assured the travelers of divine watch-care. Both men are very appealing individuals—genial, cheerful, diligent, and harmonious companions. Biographical details and tributes to Cannon appear in Appendix C, "A Son's Tribute to the Author," by George Richards Cannon.

Another way in which the narrative reveals the changes that have occurred during the twentieth century are the general disrepute in which Mormons were held and the pleasure that Cannon and McKay had in proving themselves gentlemen and leaving people with a better opinion of Mormons. Of particular interest to members of the Mormon History Association who enjoy such pleasant LDS/Community of Christ relations are two encounters in New Zealand with energetic RLDS missionaries who heckled them in public meetings, ignoring requests to "conduct themselves as gentlemen."

At last the brethren decided that patience had ceased to be a virtue. A young Maori, a star player on the Church school football team, lifted the more obstreperous of the two offenders over the fence, and the other undesirable visitor beat the athlete to the gate by a few inches. . . .

Subsequently, the three brethren who had taken matters into their own hands were summoned before Brother McKay. They approached him with considerable trepidation, uncertain how he would view their action.

"Did you throw that man

over the fence?" he sternly asked the young native.

"Yes, sir, but I . . . but he . . .?"

There was no occasion to finish for Brother McKay took him in his arms and gave him a hug which brought . . . a smile to his face which did not disappear as long as the conference lasted. (101-2)

Don H. Staheli. *The Story of the Walnut Tree*. Twelve full-color illustrations by Robert T. Barrett. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 2000. Not paginated. Cloth: \$17.95; ISBN: 1-57345-885-6

This picture-book story is a child's story of a black walnut tree President Gordon B. Hinckley planted in his yard, then, when it died, donated the wood to be made into the pulpit that now stands in the Conference Center in Salt Lake City. Staheli creates mild suspense by referring to Hinckley initially only as "the man":

He placed the walnut seed in the hole and covered it with soil, patting it down tightly. The man was excited to see what this little seed would become. He was a busy man, coming and going to meetings, but he always took time for his family, and he always cared for his trees. He pruned them and watered them and pulled the weeds that grew up around their trunks. He worked with his children in the yard and taught them about trees. (n.p.)

Staheli names Gordon B. Hinckley when "the prophet of the Lord" enters "the great hall."

Staheli "worked for fifteen years in LDS Social Services and is currently in employed full-time Church administration" while Barrett is a "professor of illustration at Brigham Young" (dust jacket, back flap). The text is based on President Hinckley's personal account of the walnut tree, which formed the basis of an address at the April 2000 general conference that inaugurated the Conference Center.

The final three pages list five lessons with associated scriptures, for example: "Some things that are not pretty on the outside are the most beautiful on the inside. Isaiah 53:2-3 . . ."

Jerry Evan Crouch. *Silencing the Vicksburg Guns: The Story of the 7th Missouri Infantry Regiment as Experienced by John Davis Evans, Union Private and Mormon Pioneer*. Victoria, B.C.: Trafford Publishing, 2005. vii, 184 pp. maps, bibliography, index. Paper: ISBN 1-41205637-3

Jerry Evans Crouch, a first-time author, sheds light on his great-grandfather's Civil War service as an unusual Union Army soldier: a Mormon with Utah pioneer connections. Aside from the federal service of Captain Lot Smith's ninety-day cavalry company, Utah as a political entity essentially opted out of the Civil War. Consequently that conflict has received little emphasis in Utah history. Yet an unknown (and presumably small) number of Utah residents

(Mormon and non-Mormon) went east to volunteer in the armies of either the Union or Confederacy, while other (again, presumably few) Utahns of both backgrounds enlisted after being “trapped” in the Mississippi Valley by a variety of circumstances at the war’s outbreak.

John Davis Evans fits into a slightly different category: a Welsh-emigrant Mormon living near St. Louis who did not take up residence in Utah until after his discharge in 1864, although he made round-trip journeys to Salt Lake City in both 1859 and 1860 as a young teamster.

Listing “miner” as his occupation, the eighteen-year-old Evans enlisted as a private on June 1, 1861, for three years in Company D, 7th Missouri Infantry, a volunteer rifle regiment. Crouch focuses on this unit’s participation in General Ulysses S. Grant’s campaign through the river portions of Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi that culminated in the long siege and eventual July 1863 capture of Vicksburg, the artillery-studded citadel commanding the Mississippi River. Defending and retaining this bastion was Jefferson Davis’s last hope of preventing the Union from controlling the entire length of the Mississippi and, hence, truncating the Confederacy.

Because Evans, his parents, and his eventual wife were all illiterate—an anomaly among Union Army soldiers—Crouch had no letters, diary, or post-war reminiscences with which to work. Of necessity, in the thirteen chapters focusing on the war, Crouch relies on Evans’s military records (muster, pay, and pen-

sion) and indirect accounts of his unit’s experiences provided by soldiers in other (but proximate) regiments, the army’s official campaign reports and correspondence, and other historians’ accounts of the important Vicksburg campaign. The resulting picture of Evans’s experience is fragmented and, naturally, lacks any description of his religious views, reasons for enlisting, reactions to campaigning and combat, and decision not to reenlist. His disability pension application, filed in 1891, indicates that Evans received a flesh wound to the left leg in Tennessee on August 31, 1862 at the battle of Medon Station and that his health was subsequently damaged while working as a sapper during the tunneling operations that were part of the Vicksburg siege.

Civil War histories are not usually given to humor, although Crouch manages to observe in his acknowledgements, “Thankfully my wife, Jeanette, also enjoys history and has been willing to wander with me through battlefields and such. The woods between what once were Bruinsburg and the still-charming Port Gibson, Mississippi, were exciting” (vi). More substantively, Crouch provides this eloquent, Shelby Foote-like description of Vicksburg’s surrender and the July 4, 1863, entrance of Private Evans’s war-weary brigade:

Stevenson’s brigade was nearly exhausted from the heat when they arrived at the courthouse at 2:00 P.M. The band had been playing such tunes as “The Star-Spangled Banner” and

"White, Red, and Blue" as they marched through the city. The Yanks stacked arms, rested an hour, and listened to the music.

Gunboats were at the river landing, decorated all over with flags and banners while the stars and stripes flew atop the courthouse. The soldiers went down to the Mississippi River, washing and filling themselves with abandon. Small clusters of citizens on the streets looked sad indeed.

About 3:00 P.M. Stevenson's 3rd Brigade marched back to the fortifications. That morning they had been occupied by Confederates to keep the U.S. Army out; now they were being used by the U.S. Army to keep Confederates in until they could be processed and paroled. (109)

In the epilogue, Couch sketches the remainder of Evans's life (1864–1908) as he emigrated to Utah, married another Welsh emigrant, worked as a miner in Montana, fathered ten children, and established an apparently successful retail ice cream business in Salt Lake City before dying at age sixty-five.

Because of Crouch's focus on his ancestor's experience, this account of a single regiment's competent but not extraordinary role in a major campaign is pleasingly written, supplemented with thirty-three maps and organization tables created by another Evans descendant. His book, with its careful attention to the fundamentals of Union campaigning, seems most useful as a generic introduction to the Civil War in the Mississippi Valley for non-specialists, including young adults.

Readers in search of a more full-bodied complement to Crouch's book may wish to consult Hugh C. Garner, ed., *A Mormon Rebel: The Life and Travels of Frederick Gardner* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund and University of Utah Library, 1993) which chronicles a Mormon Salt Laker's sojourn in the Confederate Army after being caught in New Orleans at the war's outbreak.

George W. Smith. *I Believe, I Believe*. New York: Vantage Press, 2006. 185 pp. Illustrations. Cloth: \$23.95; ISBN 0-533-15146-5

The author, a Mormon convert, prepared this autobiography at age eighty-six with the assistance of a daughter and a daughter-in-law to affirm that "it is possible to know joy and happiness even though the trials of life are huge" (183). He suffered a mysterious illness at age seventeen while he was in U.S. Navy training and implies that it may have been spinal meningitis, which had claimed two lives in the camp in the preceding company (1). From that point on, a series of apparently undiagnosable illnesses and chronic conditions kept him "in constant pain." However, the epilogue mentions "a HNPP gene disease" (183) but without explaining how this disease may have caused his ailments.

Those ailments are numerous: "I have been in seventeen automobile accidents, . . . been operated on nineteen times and have had a knee replacement[:] seven operations for

[bladder] cancer, three for my back; three for my hands, one for tonsils, one for a hernia; and two for my eyes" (183). He also mentions numerous falls, broken bones, double vision, hearing loss, and pinched nerves. He reenlisted in the navy at least twice, then worked for it as a civilian contractor. After retirement, he took up ranching in Oregon where he engaged in heavy physical labor, construction, logging, and such strenuous recreational activities as backpacking trips.

Although he was born in Salt Lake City, he was not a Mormon. He was converted after marrying a Mormon nurse, Beth Durfey, and they became the parents of six children. He served as both stake missionary and branch president in rural Oregon, served a mission with his wife in northern Utah and southern Idaho, and became involved in genealogical research in later years.

The book seems to have been designed, despite its announced purpose, primarily for the family, since he never gives the names and birth dates of his children, their spouses, or grandchildren, leading to puzzling comments such as: "[Son] Barrie and I flew to New Mexico to be with Cassandra [not mentioned earlier] for her wedding. . . . Barrie and Oak [not mentioned earlier] took real good care of me" (177).

Another factor that would have made the book more accessible to the general reader would be greater attention to chronology. Days and months are usually given (especially in the later chapters which become primarily a record of medical procedures), but years are sparse. He describes events of 1988 on p. 115, but fifteen pages later, he is describing events of 1983.